

American

JANUARY 1960

TWENTY CENTS

FEDERATIONIST



IF YOU INTEND TO VOTE, YOU MUST BE REGISTERED FIRST

POLITICS AND YOU

by James L. McDevitt

THE SIXTIES

by Peter Henle

THE 'RIGHT TO WORK' FRAUD

TIME TO ACT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

REPORTS ON INDIA AND SWEDEN

"SEE YOU AT THE UNION MEETING"



ARE YOU fulfilling your obligations as a trade unionist? To be a good trade unionist, one must be a good citizen first—and a good citizen does not neglect his obligations. Now is the time to resolve that you will do your share to strengthen your union. Take a genuine interest in its affairs. Study its problems. Bring new members into the fold. And attend meetings regularly. It's at the meeting that you get your chance to take part in shaping the policies of your union. Do your part and your union will thrive.



American

FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

JANUARY, 1960

GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

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American Mood

Outside, we appear to be as bland and smooth as butter. Inside, we are a mite confused. The endless good tidings which are issued from Washington and by the ad men partly persuade us that everything is simply wonderful.

Yet, I think, enough survives of our traditional American common sense, even after its erosion by the appalling letdown in our educational standards and the inanity of much of what we accept as "entertainment," to convince us that some of the cream on the bun of our self-congratulation is the least bit sour.

We are assured, for example, that all of us are rolling in wealth. If you and I don't feel that we are in exactly that condition, then that is a fact we had best keep to ourselves. Any little nagging need for dollars or for shiny merchandise can easily be met by going into debt.

In the career of Dwight D. Eisenhower we have witnessed the growth of a great myth, not of a great President. It's a difference which is not entirely reassuring.

The fearful prospect of another great war does seem to have receded. If now our apprehension is less, it is not because our defenses are in better order. They are not. It isn't because our weapons are superior to those of our Red rivals, for they aren't. Nor, certainly, is it because of any freshness or invention in our foreign policies, for they have remained substantially unchanged for seven years. Such assurance of peace as we do have is rather the gift of a Russian dictator who has decided that keeping mankind's nerves quivering has done the Communist cause no good.

This is an election year. The great eider-down quilt of complacency under which the Administration has invited us to crawl has almost convinced us that there are no "real issues." If we are not to lose one of the great sources of our strength, we must disabuse ourselves of that nonsensical, that narcotic belief. If ever there have been issues worth debating, we may be sure they are still with us.

John W. Vandercook.

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THE SIXTIES:

Easy Living or Hard Work?

By PETER HENLE

Assistant Director of Research, AFL-CIO

THE turn of the New Year and, more particularly, the beginning of the 1960s provide a golden opportunity for newspapers, magazines and public figures to discuss the future that the next ten years will bring.

One magazine has already decided that this decade will warrant the phrase "the Soaring Sixties." A prominent newspaper decides it will be "the Golden Sixties." The optimism of these slogans reflects the confident mood of the nation today.

Naturally, there is every reason to believe that in the 1960s man will be able to make more progress than ever before. The potential is obviously there. There will be a greater accumulation of scientific know-how, of technical information and of ways in which basic scientific principles can be translated into practical devices for daily living.

Some writers knowledgeable in scientific affairs have suggested that within the next ten years the average American family will have available to it the following:

►An individual "air car" which will carry passengers without vibration at high speeds just above land or water.

►A special hand TV camera with which the individual can take TV movies and then play the results right back through the family TV screen.

►A telephone with automatic dialing to any place in the world and a radio system for notifying the person called, if he is outside the house, that his phone is ringing.

In addition to gadgets such as these, there is also a good chance that the 1960s will see the following more constructive advances:

►Breakthroughs in the attempt to find a cure for cancer.

►The development of solar energy

as well as atomic energy as a low-cost source of power.

►The development of a practical low-cost method for making sea water usable for industrial and home use.

►More intensive exploration of outer space with a good chance that not merely the moon but planets in our solar system will be explored.

►Control over the weather so that rainfall can be created over any part of the country.

WHILE magazine writers have a lot of fun conjecturing over the future, more sober-minded economists have been working on the task of projecting the nation's economy for the next ten years. Business firms, government statistical agencies and research organizations regularly publish estimates of future population, expected improvements in productivity and resulting estimates of future economic growth.

One such organization, the National Planning Association, has made a series of projections indicating what the American economy is likely to look like in the year 1970. The projections, however, must not be considered a true forecast of events to come. Rather they simply represent a continuation of economic trends already evident.

If this figuring is anywhere near accurate, 1970 will find the total output of the economy close to \$800 billion—over 60 per cent above 1959. The total population is scheduled to climb to something above 210,000,000, with the result that if unemployment can be held to 3½ per cent of the total labor force, there would be over 80,000,000 people at work.

The proportion of families with incomes under \$3000 will drop from over 20 per cent to 13 per cent, while

the proportion with incomes over \$7500 will increase from 33 per cent to 45 per cent. These figures do not make allowance for any price increases. All the higher increase in income would be available to improve family living, not to pay for higher prices.

These figures even make allowance for the fact that many people will want to work fewer, not more, hours; that young people will stay longer in school, and that older folks will retire at a somewhat earlier age.

These achievements, or even more, are clearly within the grasp of the American economy. With this increase in income, it might even be possible for these families to buy some of the new gadgets the magazine writers are talking about.

HOWEVER, there is one difficulty with all this talk about the "soaring" or "golden" 1960s. These rosy accounts of the future make it all seem so very easy. Seemingly, no one will have to move from his rocking chair in order to enjoy the more productive economy in the years ahead.

It almost seems as though the new technical innovations will come by on a moving belt, and the consumer will have to do nothing but turn aside from his mint julep and select those aspects of the new civilization that interest him. Best of all, no one need have eyes for any unpleasant aspects of tomorrow's civilization, such as the continuing rise of Soviet power or the continued existence of serious poverty both in this country and throughout the world.

To fill this gap, it might be well to list some of the more unpleasant aspects of life in the 1960s. They are listed here as a possible antidote to

the more glamorous forecasts that have filled the country's reading matter in recent weeks.

Peace? The issue is not just whether the world can reach 1970 without a major war, but whether the free world will be strong enough to oppose continued Soviet pressure. Budget balancing at home plus sweet music at the summit could produce an atmosphere in which the U.S. and its allies would be lulled into neglecting their responsibility to maintain the free world against any type of Soviet aggression.

Bridging the gap between the industrialized and the underdeveloped countries of the world. Since World

War II, the U.S. has spent over \$50 billion in foreign aid. Although this sum has proved helpful in rebuilding the war-torn economies of Western Europe, the rate of advance in the world's underdeveloped areas is still pitifully slow. Problems of population growth, unstable political institutions and lack of skilled manpower naturally complicate the task of achieving economic progress. This is a really tough issue for the 1960s.

Growth and stability in the American economy. Although twenty years have now passed since the last major depression, the American economy has still not solved the problem of the business cycle. Three postwar reces-

sions and a slowdown in economic growth have left the economy with a continuing high level of unemployment. During the next ten years an increasing number of young people will be looking for work for the first time as the postwar baby boom starts to come to the job market.

Unless ways can be found of stimulating greater economic growth, these youngsters will be out of luck and our economy will no longer be able to set the pace for the free world.

These are a few of the knottier issues with which the 1960s will have to contend. Yet unless they can be resolved, the "bright new world" will rest on extremely shaky foundations.

Industrial Peace Parley Pushed

IN THE wake of the steel strike settlement, AFL-CIO President George Meany has called anew for a White House conference of labor and management leaders to work on "guidelines" for industrial peace.

The idea of a top-level meeting, originally proposed by Mr. Meany in a letter to President Eisenhower last November, has received strong endorsement from the Chief Executive. As a consequence of the long steel strike Mr. Eisenhower said he intends to "encourage regular discussions between management and labor outside the bargaining table."

In a statement hailing the agreement reached in steel after the longest shutdown in the industry's history, Mr. Meany declared:

"It [the settlement] demonstrates the need for management and labor developing guidelines for just and harmonious labor-management relations to avoid a repetition of strife as long and costly as this struggle."

Labor and management in America, said the AFL-CIO president, "have more in common than we have in conflict—a fact all too often overlooked."

Mr. Meany said the broad areas of agreement "could be emphasized and guidelines could well be developed at the kind of White House labor-management conference President Eisenhower is now considering."

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, to whom President Eisenhower assigned the task of exploring the proposal with Mr. Meany and "representative" management officials, has expressed cautious optimism on the prospects of holding the conference "in the early part of the year"—probably February or March.

Mr. Mitchell reported recently that he had held private conversations with the AFL-CIO president and "with some of the management groups and some management people." It was assumed the latter included representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. These exploratory talks, Mr. Mitchell told reporters, covered four broad areas—the "possibility of such a conference," the subjects to be discussed, the location of the talks and the time.

In disclosing progress in these initial meetings, Mr. Mitchell said he hoped "as an individual that such a conference will be forthcoming."

Mr. Meany had urged President Eisenhower to summon both sides to top-level talks, citing the marathon steel shutdown, the burgeoning Soviet economic challenge and threats from some political leaders of government intervention in bargaining.

Mr. Meany warned that the nation "must avoid drifting by statute into rigid and arbitrary rules for collective bargaining." He said such a drift

"can only lead to a serious weakening of the underpinnings of our whole democratic way of life."

The AFL-CIO president told Mr. Eisenhower that the conference could "bring greater stability to our entire economy and new vitality to free and voluntary responsible collective bargaining which is indispensable to the health and progress of our democracy."

In reply, Mr. Eisenhower noted that Secretary Mitchell has repeatedly urged "that labor and management meet frequently to talk over common problems having to do with improving the health and efficiency of the industries and companies with which they are concerned."

Since the proposal was first advanced, the plan has drawn generally favorable comment from Erwin D. Canham, president of the Chamber of Commerce, who declared his organization would "gladly cooperate," and from Charles R. Sligh, Jr., vice-president of the NAM, who praised Mr. Meany as "an advocate of peace and goodwill."

The National Council for Industrial Peace—a non-partisan group headed by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and former Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York—has called the conference plan "a statesmanlike approach to the wave of bitterness which has marked labor-management negotiations during recent months."

Politics and YOU

By JAMES L. McDEVITT
National Director,
AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education

What difference does my vote make? What is one vote out of 100,000,000? What do I know about the candidates? Sounds familiar, doesn't it? It is this "my one vote won't mean much" philosophy that elects reactionaries. It was this philosophy that elected Hitler to power.

Every vote counts. A switch of only one vote in each Ohio precinct would have retired Senator Taft in 1944. Thomas Jefferson was elected by only one electoral vote. The draft was extended, two months before Pearl Harbor, by only one vote.

What is the matter with us Americans? Back in 1896 people took democracy seriously. Eighty-five per cent of the voters cast ballots. And in those days government was not nearly so important. Today our government taxes and spends more than \$80 billion a year. Everything from bank deposit insurance to labor-management relations is subject to laws passed by Congress. If the laws passed by Congress are bad for the majority of us, it is our fault. The kind of people we elect determines what kind of laws we get.

Labor fought for decades for the right of all men to vote. Remember: When your country was founded, only property owners were considered fit to vote and hold public office. Even more important, remember that there are those who would like to take your vote away from you.

A few years ago the head of the real estate lobby, Herbert Nelson, was quoted as saying:

"I do not believe in democracy. I think it stinks. * * * I don't think anybody except direct taxpayers should be allowed to vote. I don't believe women should be allowed to vote at all."

You can't take democracy for granted. It doesn't just happen. To make it work, you have to work for it. If we are to win a majority this year, we must not only defeat the reactionaries in our Congress, but we must save every friend.

There is only one way we can win—*hard work in each precinct*. If each of us does a little, none of us has to do too much.

It isn't enough that we get each AFL-CIO member registered and out to the polls on Election Day. We must also get our relatives and neighbors to the polls. We must help COPE-endorsed candidates—as poll watchers, as precinct workers carrying voters to the



JAMES L. McDEVITT

polls on Election Day, handing out handbills and ringing doorbells.

When a candidate sticks by us in Congress, you can be sure he won't see any of the fat campaign contributions ladled out each election by the wealthy corporation heads and the special interest lobbies they maintain. It is up to each individual AFL-CIO member to contribute a little bit. If each of us contributes—not \$5000, not \$100, but just one dollar apiece—our combined resources will be enough to help our friends.

We don't have the kind of money reactionary candidates spend. But we have the votes and that is what counts. A small contribution, a united vote and volunteer precinct work for our COPE-backed candidates are what all of us can do. Of course, votes don't help if they are split up and misdirected. The people have to be informed accurately in order to decide where their best interest lies. They have to know what the record of each candidate really is—not what he says it is.

That is why COPE prints the voting record of each Congressman and disseminates copies widely. That is why COPE prints a bi-weekly newsletter, "Political Memo From COPE," which is available to any AFL-CIO member for only \$1 a year. That is why COPE furnishes timely political information to the editors of

the labor press who do the biggest and best job of passing it on to every member.

In the past few years our political movement has made great strides. The registration drives all over the country are magnificent. It used to be that politics was taboo in union rallies. Today nearly all speakers touch on the need for votes.

Keep your sights on the real issues, and don't be divided. The reactionaries will tell you that your candidate is a "Socialist" and wants to take away your "liberty." Just remember that your AFL-CIO is not Socialist. COPE does not support un-American candidates. What the reactionaries want is the "liberty" of the good old days when an employer didn't have to bother with unions, when workingmen had no unemployment compensation and the old people were carried off to the county poor farm. The reactionaries want the liberty for farmers to go broke with no price supports and the liberty for banks to close their doors with no insurance for depositors.

Don't be fooled by the labels. Just follow this simple formula and you can't go wrong: Keep your eye on the voting record, and support and vote for the man who voted for you.

Now is the time to step on the accelerator in your register-to-vote drive. Deadlines for registering voters are coming close in many states. If union members fail to register, they will not be able to vote in the crucial Presidential and Congressional elections this year, and labor's immense potential political strength will not be felt.

In many states voters must register for each election well in advance of the voting date. In others registration may be more or less permanent but may be conditioned on a voter's exercising his franchise every year or two. If he moved from one voting district to another, he will ordinarily have to register anew.

Labor unions have been explaining these problems to their members for a long time. But there are still far too many people who forget that they must register if they want to vote in November. It is the responsibility of union leaders, and particularly the officers of local unions, to arouse all unionists to the vital importance of getting registered and ready to vote on Election Day, November 8.

It is the particular responsibility of COPE committees in local unions, or other committees or officers charged with political duties, to give special attention now to this critical problem of registration. Local COPE committees should be set up in every union which does not have such a committee. If a committee has already been appointed but is inactive, new people should be entrusted with these vital duties. The business of getting voters registered calls for a lot of hard work on details.

One common and effective procedure is to take the list of union members and type it on cards for ready sorting. The cards then can be separated by the wards

and precincts in which the members live. The next step is to have a responsible union member take the cards to the county courthouse and check them carefully against the official lists of registered voters.

Each card should have a place for checking whether the member is registered or not; the proper notation is made on the card by the union representative when he goes to the courthouse.

We are not concerned with the question of whether the voter is registered Democratic or Republican; we are interested only in having him register as he desires in order to play his proper part as a citizen. It is important to have everyone realize that labor's interest in these matters is completely non-partisan, and that unions are merely urging every citizen to fulfill a responsibility which he already has as an American.

When the cards are checked they should be brought back to local headquarters, and can be used again by block or precinct workers in making contact with unregistered members, and later in getting out the vote.

Where all the locals in a community are working closely together, they may wish to consolidate their cards into one list, both for checking at the courthouse and for follow-up afterward.

If a member is not registered, it is the responsibility of the union to persuade him to register if possible. The approach is often made by the steward in the plant. This man knows the individual members with whom he works from day to day and understands their personal problems. He is often the best one to explain citizenship responsibilities.

Another effective and legitimate procedure is to have union representatives visit members at their homes.

House-to-house canvassing should be carefully organized, with captains and teams assigned to each precinct, armed with suitable publications, and with the cards showing what people are still unregistered. The COPE committee of the local, or whatever officer has been given responsibility for political work, should keep constantly in touch with the progress being made in visiting members and should speed things up if necessary.

It would be well if the local has enough devoted members to take on this kind of work voluntarily. But locals often prefer to compensate members who do such work by paying them lost time for the hours they have sacrificed in the plant. There is no more important and legitimate use for the political education funds of a union than to make it possible for vigorous and able union members to assume these important duties without financial loss.

Sometimes, when there is money enough—usually in the case of a city central labor union or council, where the resources of many locals can be pooled—a full-time COPE director may be put on the staff.

The public officials in charge of registration usually have power to decide how many registration booths there will be and when they will be open. Union representatives should get in touch with the registrars and make certain that booths are conveniently located for

union people and that they are open at times when union members are off work and can register.

In some cases, unions have been able to make arrangements for booths to be set up right in the plant so that members can register before or after work or during free time in the shop. In some cases, arrangements have been made with the company to allow specified hours off to register. It can often make all the difference in the world in total registration whether the registration booth is conveniently located.

Trade unions have made effective use of ordinary advertising and publicity techniques to push registration; for example, advertisements in streetcars, buses or newspapers, radio announcements, and spots on TV programs. All these measures, if well done, can be helpful. Direct mail is also used. Bear in mind that excellent materials are available from the COPE national office on all phases of political activity, including special publications covering details of registration methods.

House-to-house canvassing to get people to register to vote is in the grain of the American democratic political custom. Needless to say, the right kind of approach to the voter is important. It must always be courteous and respectful. The canvasser is a visitor in the voter's home. He has come there to explain and to answer questions.

The important thing is to have each potential voter understand that registration is a duty he owes his country, his union, his family and himself.

"One woman is worth ten men in getting out the vote." That may sound foolish, but it is true. Too often there is a tendency in some of our unions not to think of women as part of our political team. This may be natural in unions made up predominantly of men, but it is one tradition that it would pay us to change.

Look at the political results achieved by some of our unions which have a large number of women members. I don't think this is just coincidence after watching the successful door-to-door campaigns waged by women's committees in several communities. I am sure in my own mind that the women's committees brought in the margin of victory.

Just because all the members of a local Bricklayers Union, for instance, are men, that is no reason why women can't be part of the union's political team. Every member has a wife or daughter who could help COPE in this coming election.

You can't bluff statistics. There are only 13,500,000 AFL-CIO members out of 100,000,000 potential voters. Even if we got every AFL-CIO member to vote, that would still not be enough. We need more than our own votes. When we look for other votes to help elect favorable candidates, half the

time we talk about trying to win the votes of farmers or professional people. We are very often disappointed in these attempts. Yet all the time, right in our own families, we have millions of potential votes that we have made very little effort to bring out on Election Day.

We should concern ourselves with the voting habits of all citizens, but, frankly, while there are still millions of untapped votes right in our own ranks and in our own families, we have no right to criticize others. Literally speaking, we have plenty of work cut out for us right at home.

It stands to reason that trade union wives want to vote for favorable candidates and help get out the vote if local COPE units will only make use of their services.

There is nobody who understands the economic problems of the day better than the housewife who, after all, does the bulk of the purchasing for the family. It is the housewife who has to meet each price increase at the grocery checkstand. It is the housewife who has to figure out what sacrifices are necessary to make the paycheck stretch. The housewife does not have to be told that Congress did her wrong when it put a lid on wages and an escalator under prices. I think that recent events have tended to make women more politically conscious than at any other time in history.

Not only as a voter but as a vote-getter, there is nobody who can do the job like the housewife. She usually knows her neighbors better than her husband does. Every professional politician will tell you that neighbor-to-neighbor, word-of-mouth boosting is better than all the publicity a candidate can buy. How many political revolts for better schools or civic improvements were started by men? The initiative, the leadership and the work usually came from the ranks of women who were strict amateurs at politics.

You always hear the complaint that a man can't lay off work to give his time as a volunteer worker at the polls on Election Day. What's the matter with his wife? She would probably welcome a break from everyday routine. She'll probably do a better job anyway.

The officers of every local COPE should be urged to establish a Women's Division if they haven't already done so.

We are trade unionists forced into a fight we traditionally stayed away from. Even though we are relatively new at politics, in case after case we have whipped the professionals at their own game. However, we still need additional seats in the House and Senate before we have a friendly Congress. We are not going to win these additional seats by fighting with one hand behind our back. We are fighting with one hand behind our back so long as we don't make this a family fight with every member of a trade union family on the team.



Unfinished Business

A SENATE vote on legislation to control campaign contributions was expected to be the first major action as the second session of the Eighty-sixth Congress convened in an atmosphere heavy with the excitement of a presidential election year. Debate was scheduled on a so-called "clean elections" bill introduced by Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Missouri Democrat.

The measure is aimed at raising the ceiling now imposed on campaign expenditures but would require more detailed reporting of money spent on elections.

Action of some kind was looked for on civil rights. With a civil rights bill stalled in the House Rules Committee, efforts were being made to get the measure to the floor by securing 219 signatures on a discharge petition.

Other major conflicts were expected on school aid, social security, depressed areas, minimum wages, fiscal and monetary policy, mutual security and farm legislation.

A group of House Democratic liberals, numbering more than 100 members, adopted a seven-point legislative program and offered cooperation and assistance to the party leadership in producing its enactment.

Settlement of the steel strike made major new labor legislation unlikely.

The session is expected to end in early July. The Democratic national convention is scheduled to begin July 11 in Los Angeles. Two weeks later the Republican convention will open in Chicago.

Faced with an immediate warning from President Eisenhower that he would continue to oppose social and welfare programs involving what he terms excessive federal expenditures, the Democratic leaders promised "responsibility" and predicted the session would be "productive."

House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson gave no indication that they expected to be able to gather the two-thirds majority in each house required to overcome vetoes.

Action on a civil rights bill was

indicated when Speaker Rayburn, in a press conference, gave a green light to a parliamentary move to force a civil rights measure already cleared by the Judiciary Committee out of the hands of the Rules Committee, where it has been bottled up.

Mr. Rayburn in effect gave tacit approval to a discharge petition to



take the civil rights bill away from the Rules Committee. The signatures of a majority of the members are needed to force the measure to the floor.

The discharge drive was blunted by the refusal of Minority Leader Charles A. Halleck to encourage Republicans to sign the petition. He said he himself would not sign the petition "as a matter of principle."

Northern Democrats charged that the Republicans were continuing a "political payoff" to Southern Democrats in exchange for the votes which helped put across Landrum-Griffin.

The Judiciary Committee's bill is a compromise, backed by the Administration, that would require preservation of state voting records and authorize Justice Department inspection. The measure would also make it a federal crime to cross state lines to avoid prosecution for bombing or burning school or church buildings and to interfere by violence or threats with orders of federal courts on school desegregation.

Here is the outlook in other fields:

MINIMUM WAGE

Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts will seek early action by the Senate Labor Committee on a bill, already approved by the subcommittee he heads, to raise the minimum wage to \$1.25 an hour and to expand coverage.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Additional hearings on the Forand bill, to provide hospital and surgical benefits to social security beneficiaries, are likely in the House Ways and Means Committee, and the measure may be scheduled for action by the leadership. The Administration is opposed.

SCHOOL AID

A \$4.4 billion four-year federal aid program, cleared by the House Education Committee, is pigeonholed in the Rules Committee. A Senate subcommittee has approved a \$1 billion two-year program for school construction.

DEPRESSED AREAS

The Senate-passed Douglas-Cooper bill, approved by the House Banking Committee, also is halted in the Rules Committee. President Eisenhower opposes the measure.

JOB INSURANCE

The House Ways and Means Committee is closely split on the issue of federal minimum standards, and the Administration is opposed.

TAXES AND FINANCE

The Ways and Means Committee is expected again to reject the Administration request for a rise in the 4.25 per cent ceiling on long-term government bonds. Little action is anticipated on taxes, although an effort is certain to close loopholes for corporations, oil and gas firms and other favored groups and to reduce some excise levies.

FARM POLICY

Total disagreement is anticipated. Democrats have comprehensive new programs. The Administration wants a reduction of support levels.

STEEL UNION WINS

Fight for Justice

THE United Steelworkers have scored a sweeping victory on both work rules and economic issues despite the most intensive management onslaught in many years. The AFL-CIO affiliate has reached agreement with the nation's giant steel producers on a new contract. The accord ended the longest steel dispute in American history.

The thirty-month pact preserves on-the-job rights contained in previous contracts, gives 500,000 members of the Steelworkers an economic package estimated by the industry at 41.34 cents an hour, provides for a fully non-contributory insurance program and guarantees each retiring worker a \$1500 lump-sum payment in addition to his regular pension.

David J. McDonald, president of the Steelworkers, hailed the agreement which, he said, leaves the union "sound, safe and secure."

The union's 171-member Wage Policy Committee, thundering approval of the pact, said that on the key issue of work rules the Steelworkers "emerged completely victorious"—a victory, it added, which was won "not only for the Steelworkers but for all of American labor."

AFL-CIO President George Meany called the agreement proof that "collective bargaining still works." He attributed the union's victory to the fact that officers and members "stood together in the face of tremendous odds in the very best traditions of the trade union movement."

Paving the way for peace were settlements previously gained by the Steelworkers in free collective bargaining with Kaiser Steel and with the aluminum, can and copper indus-



David J. McDonald (left), Steelworkers' president, led the long fight that ended in a sweeping union victory. With him are I. W. Abel, the union's secretary-treasurer, and Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell.

tries. These agreements set the pattern for the final steel contract.

The settlement was announced by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, who credited Vice-President Richard M. Nixon with having brought about the agreement after repeated "mediation discussions" with both sides. Mr. Mitchell said the Vice-President made "a recommendation for settlement" which was "accepted voluntarily by both parties."

Flanking the Secretary of Labor as he faced reporters and newsreel cameramen in a crowded conference room at Washington's Sheraton-Carlton Hotel were Mr. McDonald and the chief negotiator for the industry, R. Conrad Cooper of United States Steel.

There were strong indications that steel prices would not be immediately raised, despite management propaganda throughout the marathon negotiations that anything more than its "last offer"—40 per cent below

the final settlement—would be "inflationary."

The settlement came as the National Labor Relations Board was preparing to poll 500,000 members of the Steelworkers on management's so-called "last offer," which would have gutted the work rules and given workers only 24 cents an hour spread over three years. An unofficial tabulation by the union had indicated that 95 per cent of the workers would turn down the industry proposal.

The Administration's intervention came at the eleventh hour.

Negotiations had begun last April. They were preceded by an industry propaganda barrage charging the union with seeking an "inflationary" settlement, raising the threat of "foreign competition" and accusing steel workers of "featherbedding."

Repeated union appeals to the White House to name public factfinders to assess the conflicting po-

sitions of both sides were met by a "hands off" attitude by President Eisenhower, who told reporters several times that the "facts" were "well known" by the American people.

At the President's request the union extended its steel contracts for two weeks past their July 1 expiration date in an effort to reach agreement with the industry. When talks collapsed, the 500,000 workers walked off the job.

In September, President Eisenhower agreed with a suggestion by George Meany that public fact-finders be named to stake out the area for settlement, but conditioned his action on approval of such a procedure by both labor and management. The Steelworkers promptly accepted the plan, but it was rejected by industry leaders who resisted all efforts at public disclosure of the facts.

In October, declaring that the protracted strike threatened the national health and safety, the Administration obtained an eighty-day injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act. The injunction did not go into effect until November 7 as the union challenged the constitutionality of the injunction and the Administration's "national emergency" claims. The injunction was scheduled to run out January 26.

The courage and determination of 500,000 members of the Steelworkers, backed by the full strength of united labor, provided the margin of victory in the union's long struggle for economic and on-the-job justice. For 116 days the strikers and their families tightened their belts.

As the Taft-Hartley injunction neared its expiration date, they stood ready to make it plain again that they would never submit to industry's efforts to scuttle work-rule safeguards, deny workers a fair share of the wealth they help produce and turn the Steelworkers into a company union.

Insulating them against the full economic impact of the strike was a broadly based program to provide any assistance needed to head off disaster.

Undergirding the Steelworkers' own efforts at all levels of the union, the labor movement mobilized its support by creating an unprecedented nationwide defense fund. Established by the unanimous vote of the AFL-CIO General Board, the fund was geared to contributions of an hour's

pay per month from each of the 13-500,000 AFL-CIO members. Into this fund, and through direct contributions at the local level, affiliates and rank-and-file unionists poured millions of dollars to support the Steelworkers in a dramatic demonstration of labor's recognition that the union was fighting not only for itself but for the entire labor movement.

Here are the highlights of the new contract won by the Steelworkers:

WAGES

There is no direct wage increase the first year, but the change to a non-contributory insurance program will give workers an immediate 7-cent hourly increase in take-home pay.

Effective December 1, 1960, and again on October 1, 1961, workers will receive a basic 7-cent increase. In addition, the contract provides for a 0.2-cent hourly hike in each job classification with the first raise, and a 0.1-cent hourly hike with the second. Including the impact on incentives, this will mean a 9.4-cent rise at the end of this year and 8.6 cents in the fall of 1961.

COST OF LIVING

The existing 17-cent hourly cost-of-living adjustment is continued in effect, and workers can receive up to 6 cents an hour more over the life of the contract, depending on movement of the Labor Department's consumer price index.

WORK RULES

Present clauses in the agreements dealing with local working conditions are retained intact. Three additions have been made:

1. Settlement of a grievance prior to arbitration shall not constitute a precedent in the settlement of other grievances.
2. "Each party shall as a matter of policy encourage the prompt settlement of problems in this area by mutual agreement at the local level."
3. A joint committee, headed by a neutral chairman, will be created in each company to study local working conditions and to make recommendations before November 30, 1960.

HUMAN RELATIONS RESEARCH COMMITTEE

A joint committee will be set up to recommend "guides for the determination of equitable wage and benefit adjustment" and to study job clas-

sifications, wage incentives, seniority, medical care and other overall problems.

INSURANCE

In addition to making the insurance program non-contributory, the contract improves it by lifting the scale of life insurance to a maximum of \$6500 per employee, raising the maximum weekly sickness and accident benefit to \$68 and continuing company contributions for an employee for six months after layoff.

PENSIONS

The settlement establishes a special retirement payment equal to thirteen weeks of pay—estimated at \$1500—in addition to the monthly pension.

Pension benefits are increased to \$2.50 per month for each year of service prior to January 1, 1960, and \$2.60 for each year thereafter, and the limitation on the years of service credited toward pensions is raised from 30 to 35 years. In addition, full retirement pensions will be paid employees 55 or over with 20 years of service who lose their jobs because of permanent shutdown, layoffs or sickness.

Present retirees receive an immediate \$5 pension hike.

SUB PROGRAM

The present SUB program is renewed on the same basis as before, with the companies putting in 3 cents an hour plus IOUs of another 2 cents an hour. This restores the contingent liability—composed of industry's IOUs paid in over recent years—which the industry had canceled July 14.

UNION SECURITY

The union shop is continued under the new contract, and in "right to work" states (except Alabama, where the agency shop is also outlawed) all workers will be required as a condition of employment to pay a service charge to the Steelworkers each month toward the administration of the contract and the representation of the union. The service charge for the first month will equal the union's initiation fee, monthly dues and any assessment, and the charge thereafter will be the same as the regular dues and assessments.

SENIORITY

A worker absent because of layoff or physical disability will retain his seniority for at least five years, instead of the previous two-year limit.

WE CAN AND MUST DO MORE FOR OUR OLDER PEOPLE

By **EMIL MAZEY**

Secretary-Treasurer, United Auto Workers

WE STAND today on the threshold of an abundant life for all Americans. Our capacity to produce is unprecedented. This productive capacity is not confined to material goods alone. In the past half century we have made phenomenal progress in our capacity to prolong human life.

Through dramatic advances in medical research, public health and sanitation measures, we have added about thirty years to the life span of the average American. This has been reflected in a vast increase in the numbers in our society in the older age groups. When we contemplate the means of providing a more abundant life for all Americans, we must give special attention to the needs and opportunities presented by this generation of oldsters.

In the past twenty-five years we have made significant progress in providing a measure of economic security for our senior citizens through income maintenance programs such as social security, old-age assistance and hard-won negotiated pension plans and other retirement benefits. But the fact remains that senior citizenship in America still remains a second-class citizenship at best.

The great majority of the 16,000,000 Americans past 65 are living out their lives on drastically reduced incomes, without adequate health and hospital insurance protection, without much chance of income supplementation through employment and without proper social, educational and recreational services in the community. Their basic problems are further complicated by the ominous prospect of social isolation, loneliness and desolation as relatives and friends pass away and mobility is diminished by chronic disease and disability.

To provide this important and



EMIL MAZEY

growing segment of our population with a greater share of our potentiality for abundance is one of the great challenges faced by American society.

On the one hand, we must provide the basic security which those who have contributed so much to our society so richly deserve. On the other hand, we must strive to increase and extend opportunities for the older person to contribute to our society and maintain his dignity and self-respect, even though he is retired from full-time remunerative employment.

In line with this challenge, we in the United Auto Workers believe older people can continue to be useful and constructive members of our society. Our experience over the past ten years with the more than 100,000 who have retired under UAW contracts has been that they continue to be valued and valuable members of our union.

This assumes, of course, that the individual has a reasonable prospect of meeting his basic needs for food, clothing, shelter and health, along

with a reasonable opportunity to develop and pursue a useful role or function in retirement. In an abundant society such as ours, older people have the right to expect that we will help them to achieve these simple but fundamental objectives:

►Sufficient income to maintain their accustomed standard of living.

►Health, housing, education, recreation and social resources and services in the community adequate to meet their emerging needs and problems.

►Opportunities to prepare for useful and creative roles in retirement life that are consistent with their basic interests and abilities.

These are understandable and manageable objectives. What must we do by way of changes or improvements in social policy to help our older people achieve them? The best way to answer this question intelligently is to inventory the present status of programs and services for older people, identify the shortcomings and propose specific modifications and improvements.

More than 10,000,000 of the 16,000,000 Americans who are 65 and over are now drawing social security benefits. These benefits average slightly over \$72 a month in benefits paid to individuals and about \$110 a month in benefits to older couples. About 2,500,000 persons are receiving old-age assistance and the average payment is a little over \$65 a month.

Low incomes among the aged are reflected in generally lower standards of living in all other aspects of their lives—poor housing, poor nutrition and poor health. This results in an unnecessarily heavy drain on the economic health and welfare of the entire community at the point where the effects of cumulative social neglect result in critical physical or mental illness.

Decline, disability and chronic illness are associated with old age when, in part at least, our basic social policy automatically downgrades older people economically and socially at the point of retirement. It is the UAW's firm belief that much of this can be avoided. We can afford the social and economic costs of a preventive program. In the long run, this will cost far less than a policy of charity measures to deal only with the crisis aspects of aging at the point of no return.

It would be idle to minimize the value and importance of the changes in benefit levels, scope of protection and coverage that have taken place in what is now the OASDI program since 1950. We firmly believe that these changes have made the program a far more effective vehicle for providing a measure of security for the aged, their survivors and the disabled. We are just as firmly convinced, however, that it does not adequately cover their needs.

WE KNOW of no valid reason why, for example, the concept of a "basic floor of protection" should become sanctified as a basic principle of our social security system. No doubt the vision of millions of retired Americans with substantial savings, privately purchased retirement annuities and retirement income from industrial pension plans is an intriguing one, but it is essentially a false picture. The fact is that, for the great majority of retired workers, social security benefits are the major if not the sole source of income.

If the best we can do under the "floor of protection" idea is to provide below-subsistence-level retirement incomes for the majority of our retired population, it is time to consider adopting benefit standards reasonably related to the cost of decent living. This means basic reexamination of the whole benefit structure to ensure that retired workers share in the increasing productivity of our society along with all other groups.

The United Auto Workers are gravely concerned over the fact that the disability insurance program under the Social Security Act fails to provide immediate meaningful protection for a very substantial number of disabled workers. Consideration must be given to the income needs of those who become totally disabled under age 50, as well as to those who

would be considered totally and permanently disabled under any standards and administrative procedures but the most severe.

Approximately 20 per cent of UAW members who are retired under the total and permanent disability provisions of negotiated pension plans in the automobile industry are disqualified for disability insurance under the Social Security Act. Certainly the standards of the government program should not be more severe than those of the Big Three auto companies.

The definitions of permanent and total disability under the Social Security Act as well as the implementing procedures ought to be reexamined and liberalized to conform at least to the realities of current industry policy and practice.

CONGRESS should also give some thought, we think, to lowering the retirement age under the Social Security Act for both men and women and consider means for making special early retirement provisions for workers, displaced by technological innovations or geographic redistribution of industrial plants, who, because of their age, are unable to find other suitable employment. Under such a provision the older worker who is a long-time resident in an area of labor surplus could be retired without actuarial reduction of his OASI, provided he is on long-term layoff by his employer and the local employment office certifies that his prospects for new employment are improbable or impossible.

Such a provision would help immeasurably to meet the income problem of the worker who is now "too old to work and too young to retire." At the same time it would tend to reduce the competition for the same jobs between the older and the younger unemployed.

Inflation takes its most tragic toll on the nation's older men and women. Their lifetime efforts to provide for a measure of security, dignity and independence in their old age are nullified by a relentless rise in living costs that erodes the purchasing power of their savings. Protection against loss of purchasing power has become a critical need of America's aged people.

While wage escalator clauses provide cost-of-living protection for the current income of most UAW mem-

bers and several million other workers while they are employed, inflation still eats away at the value of savings they may have set aside for protection when they retire. And once people have retired, the overwhelming majority have no adequate protection for their pensions, much less for their savings, against further increases in the cost of living.

Government has a major responsibility for the prevention of inflation. When it fails to meet that responsibility through effective economic policies, it has a moral obligation to provide protection against rising prices for the retirement savings and pensions of older people, who are least able to protect themselves.

A specific method for providing such protection was recently proposed by Professor H. S. Houthakker of Stanford University. As he points out, an essential characteristic required in retirement savings is freedom from risk. Under present arrangements this freedom from risk cannot be assured, especially to the small asset holder. As a means of solving this problem and providing small investors as well as pension funds and insurance programs with a genuinely risk-free and inflation-proof form of investment, Mr. Houthakker suggests the issuance of what he calls "index bonds," that is, bonds whose face value and interest payments would be adjusted in accordance with changes in the consumers' price index.

We in the UAW propose that the government issue a special series of non-negotiable bonds for purchase only by the trustees of pension funds, by insur- (Continued on Page 29)

*You Can't Vote if
You Aren't Registered*



ATTEND TO IT

THE QUIET RUSSIANS

A New Breed—Indian Style

By HARRY H. POLLAK
AFL-CIO International Representative

BHILAI ENGINEERS' PLEDGE, Raipur, Jan. 10—Over 1,300 engineers and all the officials working on the Bhilai Steel Project have decided not to take any leave until the first blast furnace goes into operation. They include 826 Russian engineers who are helping in the construction of the project.

—Excerpt from the *Sunday Standard of India*, issue of January 11, 1959.

FOR years now, Americans have been assailed by the bombast and strident diplomacy of Soviet officials from Stalin to Khrushchev—and on down.

Some of us, meeting during the annual conferences of the International Labor Organization, have been faced with stiff-necked, unrepentant, confident Soviet crusaders who would brook no differences of opinion and were always, always right.

It therefore came as a surprise to see another kind of Soviet representa-

tive—the men the Kremlin is sending to the underdeveloped areas of Asia and Africa. In India we saw nearly a thousand Russian technicians helping the Indian government erect a gigantic steel mill at Bhilai in the District of Durg in Madhya Pradesh.

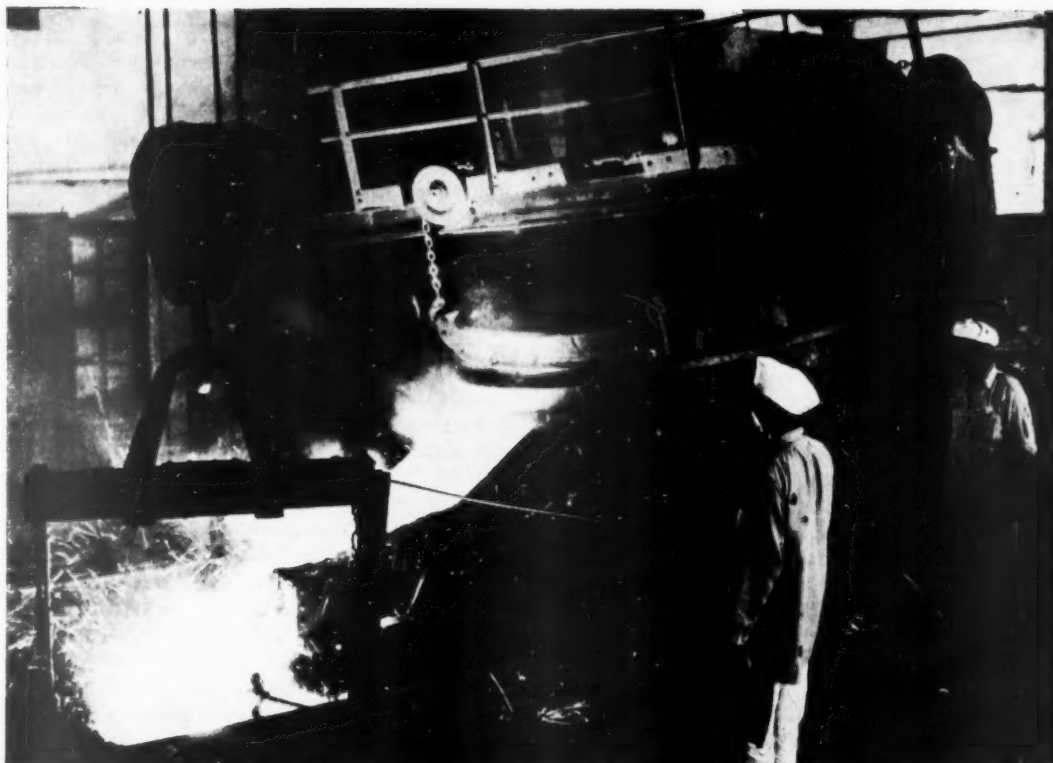
Where once there was only hot, red wasteland, there is now springing up a new "Pittsburgh," and, manifestly, the Russians who financed the construction of the project with a credit of nearly \$133 million, at about a 2½ per cent interest rate, are making diplomatic "hay." This is true despite the far greater United States contributions to all forms of technical assistance in India, and despite the fact that the U.S.S.R. was not involved in any significant aid until after the highly touted Khrushchev-Bulganin triumphal tour of India in 1955.

First of all, to the Indian people a steel mill is the arch-symbol of their efforts to lift themselves up into the major industrial nation category. In the key race that India is running—obviously against Communist China—steel is a vital index to development. The Chinese Communist slogan of "a blast furnace in every backyard" is a measure of that country's interest. Many an Indian may owe his life to the grain and milk that came from America, but the con-

Harry H. Pollak, together with John Cullerton of the Hotel Service Workers, Local 593, and Thomas Holleran of the U.S. Department of Labor, visited India during the course of the recent United States Small-Scale Industries Exhibition.

A section of Bhilai steel plant, under construction with Russian financing and technical personnel.





This picture was snapped at the long-established Tata Iron and Steel Company works at Jamshedpur.

crete visualization of the future—even when dimly seen by the lowliest peasant—may be in the hot glare of coke ovens and the flow of molten steel.

BUT, one may answer, there are other gigantic steel mills springing up. At Durgapur there is an excellent "British" mill. At Rourkela there is a "German" plant under construction. At Jamshedpur, which the writer also visited, there is the pioneer Tata plant that is being expanded with American technical assistance from Kaiser. But each of these operations suffers from a special "defect" in the view of at least some key Indians.

At the British project the complaint runs that the British are aloof and that they treat their Indian counterparts with cool reserve. At the German plant relations between local people and some of the resident German engineers have been poor. At the Tata plant the operation is in the "private sector," and as one Bhilai official explained, Russia has "extended hands of friendship to the public sector."

Many of these charges are exaggerated, but for this writer, who

visited India twice during the last year, a tour of Bhilai in late September brought out something new about the nature of Russian technical assistance which bears even closer examination.

L. N. Misra, superintendent of mechanical maintenance, personally escorted us around the giant works. There was a blaze of activity everywhere. Bulldozers were clearing ground and cutting through roads. New homes and schools were going up all around us. The atmosphere was a combination of Eastern boom town and the pioneering of the old West. The giant earthmovers contrasted sharply with the half-naked male and female laborers working on construction.

Misra, we learned, was a former Tata chief engineer who, like several others now in key positions at Bhilai, had been persuaded to come into the new program. He struck us as being an eager, dynamic and straightforward individual. As he showed us the coke oven, battery No. 1, in operation, and white hot pig iron flowing out of the blast furnace, he explained that Bhilai in its first stage expected to produce one million tons of steel when it reached capacity. (First steel

flowed in October.) When the first stage of Bhilai is completed, four and a half million tons will be available in India from all the mills in the country.

As we moved on to the electrical motor shop and construction area for the open hearth furnace, Misra tendered an invitation to a special ceremony that evening when the first "loco" was to go into the open hearth. Ceremony and ritual, we

At Tata the facilities for workers' health are better.



were to learn later, played an important part in the morale-building activities at Bhilai.

We were anxious to know how Misra felt about the differences in the Soviet and American approaches, since he had been at Tata's. He thought for a while and then said:

"In the U.S.A. everyone is allowed to think, while in the U.S.S.R. there is one man who thinks or orders and others execute. One orders; others carry through blindly. While in practice confusion was sometimes created, most of the time it works all right."

As he took us through the operation, he indicated where Russians had been able to solve simple but vital problems—in comparison to what he considered the American approach at his former "alma mater"—such as self-sustaining repair shops where repairs were made right in the area of breakdown.

The Russians, Misra said, had produced better screening for the coke ovens. There was better access at the many points of the coal chutes. They used bigger brakes. Being a genial and basically friendly man, he added, somewhat as a consolation:

"Outside of Russia, nobody can beat America in steel."

There seems a "will to believe" in Russian technical superiority that is alarming and annoying to the casual American visitor. There is a tendency to ignore the fact that the Russians have had their share of difficulties and that, in fact, the Bhilai plant is behind schedule.

We returned to our apartment nearby and met a representative of the Bhilai public relations staff—a man with a "soft sell" and very unlike our Madison Avenue types. He told us that when construction was completed it would take 7,000 to 8,000 employees to operate Bhilai. At present there were 54,000 employees, but 32,000 of them were on construction. A total of 950 Russians were at Bhilai and were steadily being replaced.

(We later learned that there are plans to double the capacity of the mill, which would mean that the Russian technical advisers would probably remain for some time.)

What about the Russians? The public relations man responded:

"They are not dictators here. * * *

They advise and guide."

The technique, he added, was equal

"Russian and Indian responsibility."

The writer noted that the Russian senior officials were housed in apartments similar to ours, in extremely comfortable modern buildings, with a large dining room, living room, large bedrooms and well-tended gardens outside. Moreover, all contained air conditioning, refrigeration, carpeted floors. An excellent restaurant, catered by one of India's leading restaurateurs, Gaylord's, provided fine food. Most of the Russians had less sumptuous but very adequate quarters and their own cafeterias with their own cooks where they could obtain *borscht* and other familiar staples.

What about the language barrier? While the Russians have many interpreters, the public relations man said they were teaching Russian to a thousand Indians at the project.

THAT evening we went to the area where the locomotive was to make its initial run into the plant and saw that there was a considerable air of hustle and bustle. Even though it was long after sundown, a great number of construction workers were on the job outside. Inside, there were a number of Russian officials with their wives greeting workers, together with the Indian dignitaries and their families.

Suddenly a cry went up and the whistle blew as locomotive T3B13 slowly rolled into the mill. It was gaily decorated, and a number of workers were on the top and hanging over the sides. There was an air of genuine excitement, and we saw broad grins on the faces of the Russian and Indian officials. Here we met the Russian chief engineer, N. K. Goldin, and other Soviet representatives who were beaming broadly. We also met one of the chief Indian technicians, Suku Sen, who honored the occasion with a big red flower in his buttonhole.

"We will have ingot steel in eight to ten days," he told us. He said that the ceremony sparked the workers with inspiration. We asked him how he got on with the Russians, and he responded: "Excellent. They are not our bosses. They work side by side with us in a partnership arrangement, and when an Indian learns the job we tell the Russians to get out."

The next day we had a long discussion with another leading official

who compared his experiences with American technicians in India and with the Russians. One of the great problems, he said, was that Americans, with a much higher standard of living, tend to raise prices in the marketplace. The Russians, whose standards are closer to the Indian, tend to "blend" into the local economy.

"Socially and culturally, we are closer to the Americans," the official said. "There is little contact with the Russians on a social basis. They stay to themselves, and on rare occasions when Indians come to their homes, conversations are limited. Their behavior is impeccable, correct. They do not get into trouble, as nationals from other countries have on occasion."

From several sources we learned that the Russians tend to refrain from open political discussions. They play their roles as technicians to the hilt. There appear to be no serious efforts to involve themselves with local Communist Party activities. And as long as the foreign technicians are at Bhilai and it is considered a "Russian" steel mill, there is little likelihood that there will be any serious Communist efforts to organize the workers.

IN THE pioneering "haze" which envelops Bhilai—by comparison with the long-established Tata Iron and Steel Company works at Jamshedpur—there is a dark side. Beneath the level of top and secondary management and selected "permanent" personnel is a vast mass of temporary workers—primarily construction workers—who live under primitive conditions, who have no strong union to protect them and who have hazardous working conditions. A doctor at a Bhilai field dispensary told us there are so many sick and injured workers that the health facilities are overburdened and many have to be turned away without care.

Conversely, at Jamshedpur, we were impressed with housing, health and safety emphasis, and many other advantages, including what appeared to be a higher wage pattern.

Ironically, the Communists at the Tata works not long ago engaged in a violent and bloody strike, whose consequences are still being felt.

From all of our conversations with Indians and (Continued on Page 31)

'RIGHT TO WORK' —A COLOSSAL FRAUD

By **BERNARD SCHUB**

Manager, Connecticut Dress Manufacturers Association

WHEN the quiz show fraud burst into the nation's headlines recently, this deception on the American people had a familiar ring to Connecticut readers. For the people of my state have been subjected to similar deceit every two years for the past decade.

I refer to the methods used by sponsors of the misnamed "right to work" law in trying to put it over on the Connecticut Legislature.

Our Legislature meets every two years. Each time it convenes, representatives of the reactionary wing of business show up with rigged arguments for legislation that could destroy the basis of effective management-labor relations in our state.

Someone has described these people as being so reactionary that they thought the spokesmen for the steel industry were pro-labor.

Like the Congressional committee that held hearings on the TV quiz show rigging, a committee of the Connecticut Legislature has exposed the "right to work" fraud as a conspiracy by outsiders who seek to impose a discriminatory and vicious law on the citizens of our state through deception.

However, these reactionaries keep coming back every two years. Apparently they have the idea that if you practice a deception long enough and say it loud enough, people eventually will believe you.

They put promising labels such as "right to work," "freedom of employment" and "voluntary unionism" on their proposal as part of the deception. But it is clear to anyone who reads the fine print that this proposal does not guarantee anyone a job, that it shackles instead of giving freedom and that the sole purpose of "right to work" is to destroy the right of labor to organize and for management and labor to bargain collectively.

The Legislature and citizens of Connecticut have recognized the "right to work" deception as the fraud it is and have reacted to it with revulsion. There has been a great public outcry against this unwanted law in Connecticut, where we have enjoyed many years of industrial peace.

"Right to work" is recognized for what it really is and opposed by the wiser and saner heads of management, by our clergy, by the leaders of both political parties and by a great majority of our Legislature, as well as by working people and the organized labor movement.

In 1957 this anti-collective bargaining proposal was defeated in the Legislature by a vote of 150 to 88. In 1959 it was rejected by an even larger majority, 197 to 46.

I REPRESENT management. I have been a management representative for eighteen years in the ladies' garment industry, one of the largest industries in Connecticut and Lower New England. Our industry has a collective bargaining agreement with the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

I represent the interests of management, and I say frankly that our industry believes that the collective bargaining process, coupled with recognition of the proper role of organized labor in bargaining, has been a boon to us.

I would like to invite Secretary of Labor Mitchell to come to Connecticut and learn how collective bargaining has brought stability and industrial peace to an industry that once was wracked by constant strife and cut-throat competition.

We have not had a serious strike in our industry for a quarter century. We have our differences, of course, but representatives of management

and the union settle them by collective bargaining.

I am a great believer that strikes and strife can be avoided under the American system by management and labor sitting down together and discussing their differences. We have made collective bargaining work in Connecticut.

As a management representative, I am unequivocally opposed to the misnamed "right to work" law. And I have unhesitatingly made my opposition clear in testimony before committees of our Legislature.

From the management standpoint, these deceptive proposals clearly place management's best interests in jeopardy.

I say this because, by outlawing the union shop security now afforded workers under federal law, these proposals would ultimately destroy the base of the collective bargaining process that has brought sanity and stability—and a fairer and more dependable return—to our industry.

There are other reasons for my opposition, of course. At one of the legislative hearings I pointed out that the destruction of trade unions has been invariably a step toward dictatorship.

This happened in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Communist Russia. The dictators first had to do away with the trade union movement. Therefore, I consider organized labor a bulwark of democracy.

To make the evil and dirtiness of the "right to work" deception really understandable, I believe it must be translated into terms of human experience.

Let me describe some of the conditions that existed in our industry before collective bargaining put a stop to them.

Prior to 1933 our industry was in chaotic condition. There were fre-

quent strikes and strife. Factory managers held the whiphand over all workers. They had the right, and used it, to hire and fire indiscriminately.

In 1911, when I first came to this country from Russia, and for a time afterward, there were substandard working conditions that at times brought about bitter strikes.

I will cite a few instances that were dealt with over the years, and which disappeared entirely under collective bargaining, with both management and labor working together to correct them.

Sweatshop conditions existed in many areas where workers were crowded together under unsanitary conditions. In some instances workers had to pay for drinking water. In others there was a charge of ten cents for each paycheck. There were other instances where workers had to bid for work when they showed up in the morning. Those who bid the lowest got the jobs.

All were paid by piece-work instead of by the hour. This resulted in economic compulsion to turn out the greatest possible amount of work. It kept some workers at their machines during lunch periods. They brought their lunch in a grocery sack and ate at the machine while they stitched. All of this to earn a wage that would allow them to subsist.

There were serious violations of the forty-eight-hour week. Some workers had to work right through into the night when they were told to. If you refused, you had no job.

In one instance—and the record is in the Connecticut Labor Commissioner's office—a worker was paid as little as fifty cents for a week's work.

Contractors were not much better off. There was a system called "the auction block." A manufacturer would call in a contractor or jobber and ask: "Can you make this garment for me for \$2?"

If a garment was made for a dollar or two, someone else would make it for fifty cents less. This meant the worker was working for less and less. The time came when the manufacturers would get a complete garment for seventy-five cents.

The jobber had to meet the stiffest kind of competition forced by the manufacturers. So his income was cut. In turn, the legitimate manufacturer who dealt with the "trade"

was hurt badly because a competitor could and would undercut him. The trade would buy from the manufacturer with the lowest price.

This was real cut-throat competition. We called it "the jungle"—conditions were that bad.

These things are hard to believe today. But if there are any doubters, I refer them to the records compiled by Connecticut Labor Commissioner Joe Tone, who exposed them to public view.

As a matter of fact, I can do better than that. I recommend that Commissioner Tone's detailed record of this unhappy period be made required reading for the National Association of Manufacturers, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the so-called Committee for Freedom of Employment, the General Electric Company and a few others who sponsor the "right to work" fraud.

They are the outfits that provide the "right to work" money and propaganda—not the individual businesses in Connecticut.

WHEN the spokesmen of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce tell a committee of the Legislature that the purpose of their proposal is to "free" workers from coercion, their deceit is enough to turn your stomach. In reality, what they seek to do is to bring back the industrial era in which management had all the rights and working people had none.

If they would like to know the real meaning of freedom, they should examine the files of the Labor Department and learn the amount of freedom accorded workers prior to 1933, compared to the amount of freedom enjoyed today when they are working under collective bargaining agreements.

I have tried to give a brief picture of those terrible conditions in this article. Now let us see how collective bargaining has brought decent working and living conditions as well as relative prosperity and industrial peace to our industry—for management as well as for working people.

I think it is well to remember that the aim of so-called "right to work" legislation is to destroy the thing that has made these gains possible.

By August of 1933 the conditions I have described had reached such a low point that there was a strike that shut down our entire industry.

The National Recovery Act had been approved, and at last there was some government help to aid in bringing about improvements in the lot of all.

The strike brought about urgently needed stabilization of the garment industry. The workweek was reduced to thirty-five hours and minimum wages were established for all crafts in the industry.

This brought about revolutionary changes.

Today, when a collective bargaining agreement is signed between management and labor, there are uniform wages, hours and working conditions throughout the industry.

This reverses the situation that once threatened ruin to our industry. This type of agreement helps set a base for the price of garments and to a degree prevents the cut-throat competition of the "auction block" and the "jungle."

It prevents cut-throat price underbidding from being the basis of competition between manufacturers. Today competition is where it should be—in style and value.

Prior to 1933 a worker in our industry averaged about \$12 a week for the long hours that then were standard. Today a machine operator makes between \$75 and \$120 for a thirty-five-hour week.

Garment workers in Connecticut now are able to own their own homes, buy automobiles and television sets, send their kids to college and take an active part in the civic affairs of their community.

The union shop and collective bargaining have also brought job security to the worker. He can no longer be fired at whim.

In our industry we have the proof that collective bargaining provides the true right to work.

I think it is fair to ask, "If all these changes have helped working people, what about management?" I believe management in our industry has derived many benefits from collective bargaining.

In the first place, stabilization of the wage base has done away with the ruinous competition of the "auction block" and "jungle" that was driving the whole industry to the wall. Management now can plan production and operating costs with some certainty that bankruptcy is not just around the corner.

Profits have risen for management despite the fact that our industry remains highly competitive.

An equally compelling factor is that collective bargaining has brought about an almost unmatched era of peace between management and labor. Before 1933 strikes of twelve to twenty-six weeks were frequent. Since 1933 we have had only one work stoppage in the industry. For twenty-five years we had continuous industrial peace.

I might add that the disagreement which finally came in 1958, and was not a major strike, came about through a desire by industry to enlist the union in efforts to enforce the union wage minimums on some non-unionized garment plants!

Our industry is certainly an outstanding example of management's

desire to have complete unionization as an essential stabilizing factor. I believe other industries in our country can take a page out of our experience.

Competition from non-unionized plants still remains an ugly threat to us. Some Southern states such as North Carolina have been trying to lure garment plants with promises of non-unionized workers who will accept wages forty to ninety cents per hour below union standards. Those who offer such lures prefer to ignore the fact that no pool of skilled workers exists in "right to work" states—and there is no likelihood that such a pool will develop under such wage rates.

I should like to point out that North Carolina and other Southern states are the stronghold of the fraud-

ulent "right to work" movement. But I do not believe these states will succeed in returning the garment industry to the jungle. I have great faith in the common sense of the American people.

In our industry we take heart in the public revulsion to the rigging of TV quiz shows. A similar public reaction to the "right to work" deception was demonstrated conclusively in November of 1958 when voters in five states overwhelmingly rejected this fraud at the polls.

I am confident the Legislature and people of Connecticut will continue to recognize and reject the deceitful efforts of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce to undermine the peaceful management-labor relations which prevail in our state.

All Labor Backs Wilson Strikers

ORGANIZED labor is stepping up its support of the Packinghouse Workers' strike against Wilson & Company, the nation's third largest meat packer.

Negotiations were continuing in Chicago, but signs of progress toward a settlement were not visible.

Nationally known labor figures have addressed membership meetings of striking locals. Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers, spoke to an overflow meeting in Albert Lea, Minnesota. James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, was heard by a mass meeting in Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Ralph Helstein, president of the Packinghouse Workers, acknowledged receipt of a \$25,000 contribution to the Wilson strike fund by the Auto Workers, and there were indications that additional financial support would be coming from other unions.

An unusual device in attempted union-busting, a "union for strike-breakers," has been introduced in the Wilson situation. Petitions for certification as collective bargaining agency at some Wilson plants have been filed by the National Brotherhood of Packinghouse Workers, an unaffiliated group.

Officials of the AFL-CIO Packing-

house Workers characterized the activity of the unaffiliated group as "company-inspired" and noted that signatures on the petitions could only be those of strikebreakers recruited by Wilson from every section of the country. Autos from as many as twenty-two states have been counted driving into some struck Wilson plants.

Officers of the unaffiliated group claimed to Wilson management that they represent a majority of current employees. They said discharge of any of their members as a part of the strike settlement would be argued as an unfair labor practice.

James D. Cooney, president of Wilson, used this intervention to reject arbitration of all unresolved issues suggested by the governors of four states in which struck plants are located.

Mr. Helstein pointed out that the newest strikebreaking gimmick was a threat to much organized labor. It would be possible, the president of the Packinghouse Workers said, for a company to invite in an unaffiliated union at any time during a strike and have this group give membership cards to the strikebreakers. In an election, under the Landrum-Griffin Act, both strikers and so-called "replacements" would be permitted to

ballot for their choice of a bargaining agent.

Governors Orville L. Freeman of Minnesota, Edmund G. Brown of California, Herschel C. Loveless of Iowa and Ralph Brooks of Nebraska wired the presidents of the union and the company urging arbitration of unsettled items in the stalemate. This would "permit full production to resume for the benefit of all parties and the public," the governors said.

Mr. Helstein immediately told the governors that he would accept arbitration as "a last, necessary step," although the Packinghouse Workers preferred "a genuine meeting of the minds at the bargaining table."

He noted that the company had never been asked for conditions different from those already granted by every other major meat packer. Wilson, he added, had "failed and refused to make its position known" on many of the items balking a contract and strike settlement.

Wilson's president turned down the governors' offer. He said that he considered reinstatement of the strikers and other issues "not appropriate for arbitration."

He contended that it would be an unfair labor practice for the company to discharge the strikebreakers currently on the Wilson payroll.

TIME TO ACT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

By HYMAN H. BOOKBINDER
Legislative Representative, AFL-CIO

IN THE period since Congress adjourned last year, a scholarly book has appeared which effectively answers the argument that "laws cannot change prejudice."

This contention—used frequently as an excuse to avoid legislation—is discussed at length in a new work entitled "Race Relations and American Law." The author, Jack Greenberg, declares:

"The thesis of this book is that law often can change race relations, that sometimes it has been indispensable to changing them and that in fact it has changed them, even spectacularly."

It is good to have this new evidence for use in the battle for civil rights legislation which is shaping up now.

Last year Congress failed to pass the kind of civil rights law which is so crucially needed in order to help change the civil rights climate and the civil rights record. On the eve of adjournment, Congress extended the life of the Civil Rights Commission until November 8, 1961. But it did nothing on substantive legislation.

Failure in 1959 resulted from a coalition of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans—a coalition that was in operation from the very first days of the Eighty-sixth Congress. When these groups united to prevent any real change in Rule 22, the Senate filibuster rule, it was not difficult to predict difficulties for civil rights legislation. The same coalition prevented meaningful action in the Senate Judiciary Committee, cut the heart out of the civil rights bill in the House Judiciary Committee and then prevented even that weak bill from clearing the House Rules Committee prior to adjournment.



HYMAN H. BOOKBINDER

The Dixiecrat-Republican coalition paid off, not only for the anti-civil-rights forces in Congress, but for the anti-labor, reactionary elements. It was this coalition that substituted the Landrum-Griffin bill for fair anti-corruption legislation, that prevented action on unemployment insurance standards, education, depressed areas and a wide range of other crucial issues.

But civil rights legislation cannot be swept under the Congressional carpet indefinitely. The needs are clear and the demands for action are becoming louder and louder.

The 1957 Civil Rights Act was primarily a right-to-vote measure. Early experience with it has demonstrated its weaknesses. The chairman of the Civil Rights Commission, John

A. Hannah, recently summed up the voting situation:

"Many thousands of qualified Americans are, in fact, denied the right to vote because they are members of the Negro race—and for no other reason. This is accomplished through the creation of legal impediments and administrative obstacles. Sometimes there are threats of economic reprisal and physical harm.

"We learned that doctors, lawyers, school teachers, registered nurses have been denied the right to register and to vote on the flimsiest of excuses, the actual reason being that they are Negroes.

"We learned that courageous young men who have fought in our country's defense—men who will carry crippling battle scars all of their lives—are being denied the right to vote just because they are Negroes.

"Today, in December, 1959, there are at least sixteen counties in the United States in which one-third or more of the population is non-white and in which not a single non-white is permitted to register to vote. In a far larger number of counties with very substantial numbers of Negro citizens, only a token, a very small token number are permitted to vote."

IN THE years since the Supreme Court's decision on school desegregation there has been some progress. But the progress has slowed down to a snail's pace. There are more than 10,000,000 Negro and white children in more than 2,100 still segregated districts in the seventeen Southern and border states. Only 400,000 Negro children out of the nearly 3,000,000 in these states are in districts with any desegregation.

Whatever progress has taken place

so far is the result of adherence of the federal judiciary to the American concepts of equal justice and equal opportunity for all. Judicial action has been possible because private citizens and organizations have accepted the burden of court fights. Without suitable implementing legislation, however, there is a limit to the burden which private groups can stand.

Racial intolerance has too frequently taken the form of actual violence. In the last few years there have been over a hundred cases of "hate" bombings and other types of violence which are clearly attributable to intolerance. Schools, houses of worship, private homes, businesses—none has been spared.

The lynching of Mack Charles Parker in Poplarville, Mississippi, has revived talk of anti-lynching legislation. Opponents of such legislation contend that it would be unconstitutional, but the failure of the grand jury to prosecute in the Parker case has led U.S. Attorney General William Rogers to declare:

"We are studying the need for some new criminal statute in the civil rights field."

THESE are some of the facts about civil rights today which Congress cannot ignore indefinitely. In 1960, a political year, civil rights action of some kind is a certainty. The question is: *How and what kind?*

On the last day of the 1959 session, the majority and minority leaders of the Senate announced that a civil rights bill would come to the floor of the Senate on February 15. This commitment was made at the insistence of civil rights proponents who had been threatening to add civil rights measures as riders to other pending measures on the eve of adjournment, or to move to discharge the Judiciary Committee from further consideration of the issue. (This committee, chaired by Senator Eastland of Mississippi, had failed to report out a bill all year.)

Just how the Senate is to get a bill on the floor for action is not clear at this time. In light of the announcement about February 15, Senator Eastland might permit the committee to report out some kind of bill. The rider or the discharge techniques might be used, this time with the agreement of the leadership. Or the

Senate might by then have before it a House-passed bill.

The Senate *might* have such a bill by February 15. But it is not certain. The House Judiciary Committee has reported out a bill and it now awaits action by the Rules Committee—the normal procedure for a measure to get to the House floor. Effective control of this committee is in the hands of its chairman, Howard Smith of Virginia, and a coalition of Southerners and Republicans. Last year they failed to grant a rule.

In order to force action on the civil rights bill, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Emanuel Celler of New York, initiated a discharge petition in the final days of the 1959 session. Upon adjournment, there were only about half of the needed 219 signatures. In the early days of the 1960 session it is hoped that enough signatures will be obtained to place the bill on the House calendar or force the Rules Committee to act.

So far we have talked only about *procedures*—not the substance of the civil rights bills.

If we are to get meaningful action on civil rights in 1960, such legislation will have to be drafted and approved on the floor.

Pending in the Senate Judiciary Committee is a toothless two-part bill approved by its Constitutional Rights Subcommittee. The House bill now awaiting a rule is a much-watered down version of the weak Administration bill. In both houses, therefore, it will be necessary to put teeth and guts into the bills that reach the floor.

Two major actions must be taken if the 1960 action on civil rights is to have any meaning:

1. "*Part III.*" This is the vital part of the 1957 bill which was dropped when President Eisenhower withdrew support of it. It is the provision of the Douglas-Javits-Celler bill which authorizes the Attorney General to obtain injunctive relief for Negro children denied their rights in school desegregation cases. No further substantial progress can be expected without this important measure.

2. *Federal Registrars.* Because of the sorry record to date on getting Negroes registered, the Civil Rights Commission, in its report last year, proposed that federally designated officials act as registrars in districts

where persons are improperly denied registration by local officials. Significantly, this proposal was endorsed by five of the Commission's six members, including two from the South. It is a direct and efficient remedy for the violation of a fundamental civil right.

Unfortunately, the pattern of 1957 seems to be unfolding again. Senator Richard Russell of Georgia—whose intemperate attacks on Part III led to its ultimate defeat—has attacked the registrar proposal as "unconstitutional." Again, as in 1957, there are indications that the Administration will not support this vital proposal of the Civil Rights Commission.

No matter what the Administration does, however, and no matter how many crocodile tears are shed by the anti-civil-rights forces about "destroying the Constitution," Congress has a clear responsibility to pass strong and meaningful legislation. In this battle, organized labor will continue to play a strong role.

AFL-CIO President George Meany, in a recent address to the National Urban League, succinctly explained labor's easy identification with the struggle for human rights. He said:

"It is no mere coincidence that the last anti-Negro stronghold in America is likewise the last anti-union stronghold. * * * Labor and the Negroes not only have common cause—we have common enemies as well. Those enemies are aligned against human progress. * * * They are working, perhaps without realizing it, to weaken and stultify their country. Their program is, for all practical purposes, un-American."

WORK SAFELY



*An Accident Avoided
May Mean a Life Saved*

UNITY BRINGS PROGRESS

By **GEORGE L. RUSS**

President, Insurance Workers International Union

SEVEN months have passed since the convention in Chicago which saw the merger of the two AFL-CIO insurance unions into the Insurance Workers International Union. Enough time has elapsed to make an appraisal of what merger has meant to the union, what has been accomplished and what the prospects are for the future.

Even before the merger of the AFL and the CIO in December of 1955, the Insurance Agents International Union, an AFL union limited to insurance agents, and the Insurance Workers of America, a CIO union with an industrial union-type provision for all insurance workers, had become convinced of the absolute necessity of joining together to present a united front to the insurance industry. Our merger discussions had begun in early 1955.

What has been the result so far of this long-cherished amalgamation? I would say that the most noticeable effect to date is reflected in our various negotiations.

The merging convention took place during the union's negotiations with the Prudential Insurance Company. Bargaining there has developed a recent history of bitterness and prolonged difficulties. We have attributed this to company efforts to weaken our agreements in negotiations at the time when the union naturally expects to make progress.

These differences produced a seventy-eight-day strike in 1951-52 and a four-month period of work without a contract in 1956. In each instance, the great majority of the then IAIU's membership was directly involved and thus the very existence of the union was at stake.

In 1959, when the merged union was bargaining with Prudential, the situation was more favorable. The union, reinforced by then by the addition of the IWA membership, personnel and resources, was in a much improved position. No longer was a majority of the union's membership



GEORGE L. RUSS

directly involved, and the organization's prospects for surviving a battle were immeasurably improved.

I wish I could say that the change and the results were earth-shaking. They were not. However, there were noticeable improvements.

The company brought in its usual contract-emasculating proposals. However, instead of sticking with them "through hell and high water," the company withdrew them entirely. In addition, the union succeeded in achieving several modest working condition and fringe improvements. And this was accomplished without a strike and without a protracted period of dispute and increased ill-will.

We would like to have achieved substantial monetary gains for our members. However, judging the national climate at the time and suspecting that the insurance industry was in the forefront in formulating the business world's "hold the line" viewpoint, we were satisfied with our modest improvements as compared to our usual engagement in defensive war.

The union's next tussle in bargaining with the giants in the industry

came shortly after. This struggle was with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. In this case, each of the separate unions had held bargaining rights for segments of the company's agents. This was our first major instance of newly combined negotiating committees facing an employer.

The results were noteworthy. Very substantial financial gains were accomplished for the agents, representing a considerable outlay for the company. In all frankness, we recognize that this emanated primarily from the company's own determination to stimulate its business. Nevertheless, there was a most important difference in these discussions.

Metropolitan, like Prudential and, in fact, practically the entire insurance industry, has a history of resisting and undermining its employees' unions. Metropolitan, over the years, had made a practice of unilaterally giving out increased benefits to its unorganized agents and forcing the union to negotiate for their members what others already had.

IN CONTRAST, in 1959 these matters were worked out completely with the IWIU negotiators and agreed to by the union before being revealed in the organized areas.

Further, there was an apparent recognition that the union is now unquestionably going to remain on the scene and must be considered. As a result, there are evidences of a new respect and indications of a much improved relationship.

In negotiations with several other companies, we have been able to present combined units which formerly bargained separately. Not only does this produce an improved bargaining position but it has begun to standardize the agreements. Needless to say, they are being standardized at the highest of the various levels previously existing.

The difficulties inherent in completing an amalgamation such as ours are staggering. International officers,

general executive board members, headquarters personnel, field representatives and hundreds of local unions all had to be integrated. And all of this in the face of deep-seated and sharply defined differences in philosophies and methods.

Reflect for a moment that one organization had been born in the AFL with a craft-type theory, zealously guarded, and the other had emerged in the CIO with a broad industrial union-type membership. These unions, too, had played their roles when there was a bitter, unrelenting battle between the parent organizations for the loyalty of prospective union members.

Fortunately, the theoretical and historical differences had long since been overcome in the common recognition of the need for unity. At all the upper levels, integration has now been completed. The most difficult problem—that of amalgamating local unions—is a painstaking operation. It is proceeding slowly but steadily. We are beginning to concentrate on this last phase of total amalgamation.

THE problems confronting our combined union remain substantially the same as those which we faced separately. We remain a comparatively small union. Our industry is 97 per cent unorganized and is the richest and most powerful industry in the nation.

The entire labor movement is seeking the successful formula for organizing white-collar workers; we are a union exclusively of white-collar people.

Our membership—and our prospective membership—is spread from coast to coast in small groups, expensive and difficult to service, maintain or organize. It is an assignment that requires vision and determination. Picture the vision and determination it took twenty years ago and since! We are satisfied that whatever our problems, we are twice as well equipped to handle them now as before our merger. One of our officers once described it as having one 250-pound tackle instead of two 125-pound ones.

I have mentioned our differences in origin and our early entry into the field of white-collar organization. A few lines about those origins will be worthwhile.

Apparently interest in organization



William Gillen is secretary-treasurer of IWIU. He was president of old CIO union.

among insurance agents began to arise about 1937. My own background is in the AFL, in the IAIU and its predecessor organization. The first local charter granted in the AFL to insurance agents was to a federal local in Chicago in June of 1937. The second and third were to federal locals in Washington. I was chosen president of one of these. Coincidentally, our headquarters building in Washington today looks out on the same public school in which that local's formation meeting was held.

A number of such federal locals began to spring up, and in 1938 an association of them within the AFL was formed and called the National Federation of Insurance Agents Council. We continued as a Council until, in 1949, we gained bargaining rights for 14,000 Prudential agents, who had split away from the United Office and Professional Workers of America. This gave us the base for consideration as an international union, and we were chartered as such, the IAIU, by AFL President William Green in Chicago in July of 1951.

During this same period other insurance agents were organizing in the CIO. An appropriate international union, the UOPWA, already existed in that federation and these people were being assigned to locals there. All things considered, the UOPWA did very well in organizing insurance workers. However, its leaders were under fire continually for their political beliefs and ideologies. Eventually, in 1950, UOPWA was expelled from the CIO. At that point a rapid disintegration began.

The CIO formed an organizing committee, the Insurance and Allied Workers Organizing Committee, headed by Allan Haywood. Between the AFL Council and the CIO's Organizing Committee, we enrolled practically all of the discredited UOPWA's insurance membership. The Organizing Committee continued to function until 1953 when it was chartered as the Insurance Workers of America by CIO President Walter Reuther in Cleveland.

Through all this involved and tortuous history, there had always been union competition for these workers until our merger in 1959 finally created one union for all insurance workers.

We look to the future with unlimited confidence. Our fundamental problem—organizing white-collar workers—is one that we share with the entire labor movement. The coming of automation has made it every union's problem. We know that the answers will be found as they have always been found. Perhaps we can be instrumental in showing the way.

To our sister unions which are considering amalgamation and to those which aren't but should be, we say, "Come on in, the water's fine." You'll have headaches and heartaches, but you will be doing what is best for your members.

By the way, does your insurance agent carry a union card?

BE UNION! BUY LABEL!

**ALWAYS DEMAND
THE UNION LABEL**

How It's Done in Sweden

By LISBETH BAMBERGER
*Assistant Director,
AFL-CIO Department of Social Security*

INDICATIONS are plentiful that all is not well in the realm of medical care and health insurance in our country.

Union negotiators, fed up with negotiating ever higher contributions to welfare plans and ever higher fee schedules, often resulting in no real improved protection for beneficiaries, are asking what and where the alternatives are.

Some are pinning their hopes on major medical insurance, with deductibles and co-insurance. Others, becoming increasingly aware of the basic inadequacies of the fee-for-service system, are looking to plans—labor-sponsored or community-sponsored—providing direct medical service. There is a call from some quarters for government to step in, with investigation, perhaps with regulation, and possibly with subsidies for existing plans.

And there are many in organized labor who feel that present problems simply point up the soundness of labor's original support for national health insurance.

In the midst of all this, it may be helpful to take a look at a system of organizing and paying for medical care rather different from what we have in this country. The Swedish system of financing health care has been praised in much of the world. It is hailed in Sweden as having made access to good, modern medical care possible for all its citizens. We may be able to learn something from the way this program has been working in the five years of its existence, and from the way some of the issues which trouble us here are dealt with in Sweden.

The Swedish system is an intriguing combination of several ingredients which in other countries are often thought of as contradictory—complete care in the hospital at no cost to the patient, fee-for-service medical practice outside the hospital and universal compulsory insurance.

When universal compulsory health

insurance came to Sweden on January 1, 1955, it wasn't much of an event. The majority of the population was already insured through various voluntary sickness funds, which were regulated and heavily subsidized by the government. Hospital care, the most expensive item of health service, was—and had been for decades—financed almost entirely from public funds. The adjustments that needed to be made were simply toward a greater uniformity of benefits, and the enrollment of those who had previously not been covered.

Most important, there was virtually no change in the organization and practice of medicine that came about as a result of the compulsory health insurance act.

Forty-four per cent of the insurance plan funds today come from members' contributions; somewhat more than a quarter each come from employers (27 per cent) and from a state subsidy (29 per cent). About two-thirds of the disbursements from the health insurance funds are for cash benefits for income loss during illness.

HOSPITAL care in Sweden has always been accepted as a public responsibility. The vast majority of all hospital beds are in institutions owned, operated and financed by government—national or local. Doctors providing medical care to hospital patients are on salaries to the hospitals.

The only circumstances under which a patient would personally pay for any part of his hospital care would be if he chose to stay in a private room for reasons other than medical necessity or if he decided to go to a private hospital. (Two per cent of all hospital beds are in private hospitals.)

To most Swedes the idea of going to the hospital and receiving a bill for either his hospital stay or for the services of his physician probably would seem as strange as it would

be to an American to find he was being billed for his children's attendance at grammar school or for the emergency service by the local fire department.

And if you suggested to a Swede that, yes, it didn't tax your imagination too much to conceive of the government's bearing the cost of his hospital stay, but you couldn't quite see how he could have his gall bladder removed by Sweden's most eminent surgeon without getting a bill from him, your Swedish friend might ask you whether the professor with the nationwide reputation at the local state university bills his students for the lectures they attend.

And when you explain to him that, of course, professors are paid an annual salary by the university, he'd tell you that now you understand about medical and surgical care in the hospital in Sweden.

About half of the physicians in practice are on a hospital staff. Part (usually) or all (rarely) of their income is made up of the salary they receive from the hospital. The rest comes from fees from outpatients. Hospitalized patients are considered the primary responsibility of all the doctors on the hospital staff.

How much time the doctor spends on hospitalized patients (for which he gets his salary) and how much he spends in the hospital outpatient department or in his own office away from the hospital (seeing patients from whom he gets a fee) is determined by arrangement between the physician and the hospital, and usually varies with his status on the hospital staff.

Hospital staff appointments are made under a merit system, and competition for them is keen.

Medical care for non-hospitalized patients is financed on a fee-for-service basis, in some ways quite similar to the system that prevails in this country. The patient pays the doctor's charge and is later reimbursed by his insurance plan for three-

quarters of the amount specified for the particular service by the fee schedule applicable in that city or area.

The fees charged by doctors in hospital outpatient departments tend to coincide fairly closely with the insurance schedule. This means that the patient personally is left with no more than about one-quarter of the fee to pay. Doctors seeing patients on a private basis—sometimes in the hospital outpatient department, but usually in their private offices—are free to charge more than the scheduled amount.

For example, a physical examination by a doctor in Stockholm may be scheduled at 16 kroner (approximately the amount earned by an average metalworker in two and a half hours); the insurance would reimburse 75 per cent of that amount, 12 kroner.

The doctor, however, may charge 18 or 20 kroner or even more if he is a physician with a great reputation or if he has rendered some complicated service not taken into account on the fee schedule.

In large cities the difference between the scheduled fee and the fee actually charged is likely to be greater than in the smaller communities.

This is the general pattern. There are two major variations.

Medical care in rural areas is provided primarily by district medical officers. These doctors are employed by the government. They have certain responsibilities which we consider in this country to be in the province of the public health official, such as maternal and child health care, school health services, supervision of public hygiene.

In addition, however, these doctors also provide general non-specialist medical care in the home and office to the people who live in their districts. The fees charged for these services are set by regulation and are slightly lower than the insurance schedule. The patient pays this fee and is then reimbursed 75 per cent of the fee by the insurance fund.

A second variation is to be found only in the larger cities, where the big hospitals maintain "polyclinics." Here specialist care is available from physicians who are on salary to the hospital for the services they provide to outpatients as well as to hospitalized patients. They therefore collect no fee themselves.

The Stockholm polyclinic, for example, collects 12 kroner per visit—3 kroner from the patient and 9 kroner from the insurance plan. Thus, by visiting the polyclinic, the patient is assured that there will be no extra fee. He also does not have to advance the three-quarters of the payment which he would be reimbursed later by the insurance plan. The polyclinic collects it from the plan directly.

Laboratory examinations and X-ray therapy and examinations are considered professional services, and are paid for in just the same way as other physician care.

Some medicines, considered essential for the treatment of specified diseases, particularly chronic diseases, are available at no cost. Insulin for diabetes is an example. For other prescribed drugs and medications that cost more than 3 kroner (about 75 cents), the patient pays one-half and the insurance fund pays half.

MEDICAL care and cash benefits for industrial accidents or diseases are covered by separate legislation from the health insurance program. There is, however, an arrangement for coordination between the two that makes remarkably good sense.

The medical care and cash benefits obtained by a worker whose disability or sickness arises out of employment are both paid for out of the health insurance fund during the first ninety days of disability. Part of the employer contribution to the fund is intended for this purpose. Thus, regardless of the cause of his injury or illness, the worker is immediately taken care of. Causes and responsibilities are determined later. The Swedish worker cannot fall in the crevasse between his health plan and the workmen's compensation scheme, as the U.S. worker can, and often does.

This coordination also permits an arrangement whereby a physician, employed part-time by a business or industry to provide care to the workers on the job, may also be chosen as their personal physician by some workers in the plant and their families.

The passage of the legislation providing for compulsory national health insurance was not opposed by Sweden's doctors, and they are today quite content with the way the system is working. This is probably due

mainly to the fact that the legislation really did nothing to disturb the existing patterns of medical practice.

It was possible to provide for national health insurance in Sweden without changing the basic forms of medical organizations for several reasons:

1. Hospital care had always been in large part publicly financed. This meant that this large chunk of expenditures—both the hospital stay and medical and surgical care in the hospital—remained unaffected.

2. With some exceptions—which had usually existed before the national health insurance scheme was introduced—doctors were permitted to continue to set their own fees for non-hospital care.

3. Controls on quality of care also existed before the national health scheme, primarily because of the hospital-centered type of medical practice.

I suspect there is another reason that Sweden's national health plan came into being without violent opposition. Swedish social institutions generally make strikingly good sense to an American observer. They seem to reflect a reasonableness, a rationality of approach to social problems on the part of the Swedish people—which perhaps grows out of the fact that there are only seven and one-half million of them, and a very homogeneous seven and one-half million at that.

I had the impression that they are more likely to deal in issues, as opposed to slogans and shibboleths, than we are in this country. "Socialized medicine" doesn't frighten anybody in Sweden; it seems as though everybody over the age of 12 has participated in a study group or something and knows what socialized medicine actually is. Also "inflation" and "the wage-price spiral" and "the right to work."

He knows what they all *mean*.

Of course, any consideration of social legislation in Sweden must take into account the very important fact that Sweden is a nation which has not been at war in more than a century. As one Swede put it to me, "If we had not been able to do something under such unusual conditions, we would not have been much good."

The arrangement whereby the patient pays a fee for each service he receives outside the hospital, and

which permits the majority of physicians to practice at least part-time in a setting where they are free to determine their own fee, is an important feature of the Swedish health scheme.

It constitutes one of the most important differences between the Swedish and the British plans of national health insurance. Presumably it was one of the conditions the Swedish doctors insisted on in return for their support of the system.

I believe that there are many dangers in fee-for-service medical practice. I also believe that it exists in Sweden in its least harmful form, because it seems to result neither in financial deterrents to needed care nor in the provision of unnecessary care.

The fact that there are no fees for hospital care or for medical and surgical care in the hospital means, of course, that in this area there are no economic barriers. It also means that precisely where, under fee-for-service arrangements, the greatest financial incentive to the physician to perform unnecessary services exists, fee-for-service practice is eliminated.

So far as outpatient care goes, it is crucial, in considering the effects of the fee system, that everyone, whether he lives in the city or in a rural area, can go to a doctor who is committed to not charging over the scheduled amount. The one-quarter of the fee which the individual then has to pay is a small enough amount that, given the fact of widespread prosperity—it is said there are no poor people in Sweden, and from what I was able to see and learn, that is true—it probably does not constitute a real deterrent.

There is apparently no pressure to abolish the fee for outpatient services. With no exception, everyone I talked to expressed the conviction that these out-of-pocket payments were not large enough to inhibit anyone from seeking care. They exist, I was told by some, as revenue producers—to supplement the prepaid funds. Most often, however, I was told that people, after all, are more likely to value a thing or a service they pay for, no matter how little they pay.

One union official said:

"We don't charge for the pamphlets our research department puts out to make money on them. We just think that people are more likely to read them, that's all."

THE rate of hospital utilization by any population is influenced by a large number of factors, including the incidence and prevalence of illness, climate, housing, family and other social considerations, the nature of medical practice and medical policies, the supply of physicians and supply of hospital beds, the availability of alternatives to hospitalization, and, of course, the methods of financing medical and hospital care.

Right now many people in this country are becoming interested in the effect of the method of organization and payment for care may have on the utilization of care—particularly hospital care. It is of interest, therefore, to ask whether the existence of completely free care during hospitalization, particularly when it is coupled with ambulatory care paid partly out of pocket, results in excessive utilization of hospitals.

The number of days spent in the hospital by every 1,000 inhabitants is much greater in Sweden than it is in the United States. Yet, among all the experts in medical care and health insurance whom I talked to in Sweden, I found no one who believed that overhospitalization was a problem.

There is the same trend in Sweden as there is in this country, toward finding more economical means of providing bed care than in the traditional acute general hospital (the use of hostels, progressive patient care units, etc.), but it is quite apparent that it is widely felt hospital beds are being used effectively and efficiently.

The reason most often cited for the absence of the "unnecessary utilization" problem is that the hospitals are too full. There is no room for patients who do not clearly need hospitalization for medical reasons. Yet the fact that hospital occupancy rates (proportion of occupied beds to total beds) are only slightly higher in Sweden than in the United States makes this a not wholly adequate explanation of the difference.

An additional reason—which no one to whom I talked in Sweden so much as hinted at—may lie in the fact that the doctor will continue to collect a fee only so long as his patient stays out of the hospital. The patient ceases to be a paying patient as soon as he gets into a hospital bed.

Could the financial arrangements

provide an incentive for physicians to keep their patients on their feet?

The various indices commonly used to measure quality of care and the observations of medical experts—Swedish and foreign—all point to the conclusion that medical care in Sweden is of the highest quality.

Among the factors that account for this are certainly the relative lack of financial barriers to needed care and the dominant place of hospital-centered medical practice. A system of medical practice based in a well-organized hospital staff, for outpatient as well as inpatient care, brings with it most of the benefits to be realized from group practice—which, in the sense that we know it, is virtually non-existent in Sweden.

These benefits include the economies of shared equipment and personnel, the increased opportunities to keep up with medical developments through formal and informal consultation and education, and the higher standards that result from professional colleagues working in close contact with one another.

THE arrangements for the provision and financing of medical care in Sweden are, without doubt, a success. By and large, every person in Sweden gets the medical care he needs, at the time he needs it, and under circumstances which are decent and humane. The modifications currently being suggested in the national health insurance system are only minor, administrative ones. Neither unions nor other consumer or public groups nor doctors are advocating any basic changes.

A discussion about the organization and financing of medical care with a Swedish man or woman who is concerned about social issues will rarely be very animated.

One gets the distinct impression that this is one set of problems the Swedish people feel they have in large part solved.

The inadequacies which still do exist are recognized. They can be and are being dealt with within the existing system. Thus, plans are being made toward better care for the mentally ill and the development of mental health programs aimed at prevention, better organization of facilities and services for the aged, the more widespread use of new techniques in rehabilitation, and the

greater accessibility to care for those who live in rural areas.

Perhaps as the Swedish people become more accustomed to having the medical care they need readily available to them, there will also come a demand for more personalized care in the polyclinics and in some of the hospital outpatient departments. Surely the introduction of efficient appointment systems in the polyclinics could not be far away.

One problem—on the existence of which there seems to be widespread agreement by all except the medical

profession—is the present shortage of doctors. The upper limit on the number of students who may be taken into the medical schools is set by the government, with the advice of the Swedish medical society. It has been increased from below 200 at the end of World War II to 450 in 1960.

Sweden has a lower ratio of physicians to population than any European country except Yugoslavia, Finland and Poland. Sweden's ratio of one physician to 1,190 population compares to a U.S. ratio of 1 to 790.

There are shortages, too, of other

professional health personnel, including nurses, physical therapists, etc., making the scarcity of doctors still more acute.

It may be that many of the improvements that will be made in Swedish medical care in the future await an increase in the number of practicing physicians. However, the fact that high-quality medical care is available today to the people of Sweden despite this extreme shortage of physicians speaks volumes for the excellent organization of services which the Swedes have achieved.

Labor Solidly United in Newspaper Strike

THE two-month-old strike of the Stereotypers Union against the daily newspapers in Portland, Oregon, focusing national attention in the newspaper industry on the showdown struggle, is forcing unions in the field to consider major new tactics.

As the strike drags on, it has become more apparent that the management of the *Oregonian* and the *Oregon Journal* aim at nothing less than crushing all the newspaper unions involved in the dispute.

The Stereotypers struck November 10 after failing to make any headway in negotiating a new contract. Their old agreement with the two papers expired September 15. The publishers refused to discuss wages or any other contract matters unless the union agreed first to three demands:

▶That a German-built automated metal plate-casting machine, which the *Oregonian* says it proposed to buy, be operated by one man. Present equipment is operated by four men. The German machine is untested in this country and has not even been seen by the stereotypers.

▶That foremen not be required to belong to the union. They have been in all past contracts. Foremen work alongside other men, perform the same duties.

▶That the union give up its right to provide substitutes.

All other trade unionists in the two plants—printers, pressmen, engravers, mailers, paper handlers, reporters, editors and photographers—observed the picket lines. But the publishers imported strikebreakers, chiefly from the South, and began immediately to

publish a joint product in the *Oregonian* plant. Some of the imports have been identified as veterans of strikebreaking operations in Miami, Reno, Oklahoma City, Haverhill, Massachusetts, and Lima, Ohio.

The strikebreakers receive premium pay—up to more than \$300 weekly—and are quartered at the publishers' expense in a nearby hotel. Management also picks up food and bar tabs.

Husband-and-wife teams are frequent among the strikebreakers. The women operate teletypesetter machines, on which news copy is translated into perforated tape, which in turn is fed through automated linotype machines. The publishers were caught early in the strike working some of the women twelve hours a day, seventy-two hours a week, in flagrant violation of state law which fixes a maximum workweek for women of forty-four hours.

A public hearing on importation of strikebreakers and its impact on labor-management relations in Oregon was scheduled by an interim committee of the State Legislature.

Lavish outlays for recruiting and paying strikebreakers and setting up a training school for new ones at the *Journal* plant are made possible by payments from a publishers' strike insurance plan. Each management can collect up to \$10,000 daily over a fifty-day period, for a combined total of \$1,000,000.

The Stereotypers have offered compromises on each of the three management demands—compromises which formed the basis of peaceful settlement of the same issues in Detroit. But the publishers have refused

to consider them and instead have come up with five new demands:

▶An open shop.

▶Reexamination of manning agreements on all other stereotyping equipment.

▶A five-hour increase in the workweek at no increase in pay.

▶Priority and seniority for strikebreakers.

▶A no-strike clause.

Governor Mark O. Hatfield, successful last year in mediating other labor disputes, offered his services, but the publishers refused them. Senator Richard L. Neuberger proposed a citizens' fact-finding panel to study the strike and drew a similar curt rejection from the publishers. The unions had welcomed both proposals.

Unfair labor practice charges have been filed by the Stereotypers on the basis of use of strike insurance funds to import and train strikebreakers and by the Pressmen based on the publishers' refusal to bargain in good faith.

The Pressmen's contract expired December 31. Four days earlier, management notified the local its members were no longer employees. With expiration of the contract, the Pressmen and the affiliated paper handlers voted to strike and joined other crafts on the picket line.

To get their story before the public, the unions have turned to radio, television and handbills. A special edition of 300,000 copies of the *Oregon Labor Press*, devoted entirely to the strike, was mailed out to all residences in the Portland area.

Now Portland's labor movement is taking steps to start a daily paper.

'Featherbedding' Bunk

By NEIL P. SPEIRS

President, Switchmen's Union of North America

RECENTLY I was one of the interested audience that heard Dr. Jacob J. Kaufman, professor of economics at Pennsylvania State University, discuss the railroad "featherbedding" issue. He suggested a three-point test to determine whether a work rule can be defined as "featherbedding."

"To be classified as featherbedding," Dr. Kaufman said, "a work rule must meet these three conditions:

"1. The rule must increase the amount of workers or duration of employment.

"2. It must bring about increased costs to the railroad.

"3. The sole purpose of the rule must be to increase the number of workers or prolong employment."

After listening to his stimulating discussion, I was anxious to analyze our own work rules in the light of his three-point test.

As regards the first point, if it were true that there is wholesale and large-scale featherbedding by railroad labor, it would be hard to explain how the number of workers employed by Class I roads went down from 1,200,000 in 1950 to 840,572 in 1958.

The hours-of-service records tell the same story. Hours worked by all rail employees as reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission totaled 2,800,000,000 in 1950 compared with 1,900,000,000 in 1958.

It must be obvious that "featherbedding" is hardly suggested when workers get paid for nearly a billion less hours in 1958 than in 1950.

These figures indicate a smaller cut in the ranks of rail labor than actually occurred because the figures include management. Rail management has increased in numbers and in hours worked since 1950. ICC records show that there were 15,464 "executives, officials and staff assistants" employed by Class I railroads in 1958 compared with 15,226 in 1950. This is an increase which, as per Dr. Kaufman's rule, could sug-

gest featherbedding at executive level.

What about switchmen? The number of "helpers" decreased from 49,813 in 1950 to 46,417 in 1958. Switchtenders, who numbered 2,947 in 1950, numbered only 2,305 in 1958. These figures reveal no featherbedding. They reveal only the jobs lost in our craft during a period of eight years.

As for the second point in Dr. Kaufman's featherbedding test, how much would the carriers save if we gave in to their absurd rules proposals and allowed them to cut the size of switching crews and order road crews to perform yard service?

One can only guess at the amount of property damage, both to railroad property and shippers' merchandise, that would result from undermanned switching operations. Even more serious, there is the danger to life and limb.

All of this holds true equally well for the companies' proposal that road crews should be allowed to do yard work. Any experienced railroad man knows that road crews cannot skillfully perform yard work or vice versa. In terms of dollars and cents, this means carrier property will be mishandled and damaged, while shippers will become more and more discouraged when their merchandise reaches its destination in damaged condition.

Aside from these factors, the railroads are forgetting that, throughout the history of collective bargaining in our industry, switchmen have had to "buy" many of the rules which are now under attack by taking smaller pay increases than they would have gained otherwise.

In former years this process was not as obvious as it is today, but it was present nevertheless—a little less money for a little safer and more pleasant working conditions. In recent years this barter process has become very open, as in the 1957 wage movement when we gave up part of a wage increase to get seven paid holidays.

Finally, on Dr. Kaufman's third test of featherbedding, the employers' position breaks down completely. Are the work rules which the railroads are attacking designed for the sole purpose of increasing the number of workers or to prolong employment?

The work rules to fix the size of switching crews are not for the purpose of keeping men on unnecessary jobs. There are state laws to prove this. The size of switching crews is set with a view to providing safe working conditions for switchmen as they move their trains in and out of congested industrial areas and through complex and busy classification yards.

Veteran switchmen say that one needs eyes in the back of one's head to work in most switching yards. What is more, contrary to the carriers' argument, the crew consist rules are even more important now than when they were first established. Yards have become more complex and industrial traffic heavier and more dangerous than was the situation forty years ago.

Not only the safety of our own men but the safety of industrial workers, as well as pedestrian and motor traffic, will be at stake if the size of switching crews is cut below the present level.

A rule to protect the safety of workers and the general public cannot be called "featherbedding."

For the service which the men and women of labor give to society—a service without which civilization itself would perish—we insist upon a return that shall give us the opportunity to live a well-rounded life.

—Samuel Gompers.

Pilots and Air Safety

By CLARK E. LUTHER

*Vice-President, Region III,
Air Line Pilots Association*

THERE are some basic and often misunderstood facts surrounding the Federal Aviation Agency regulation which will require airline pilots to retire at 60.

Airline pilots today are subjected to more thorough physical competency standards than any other group in our society. For instance, we must submit to FAA physical examinations at least once every six months. In addition, the pilot must have his flying proficiency checked at least three times a year.

In the event the pilot fails to meet any of the physical or flight proficiency requirements, irrespective of age, he must leave the cockpit.

Over the years the Air Line Pilots Association has kept very complete records of pilot incapacitation in flight, and it is startling to note that, percentagewise, there are a greater number of in-flight incapacitations in the 40 to 50 age bracket than in the age 50 and over group.

These incapacitations for the most part are of the unpredictable type such as gall bladder attacks, appendicitis, food poisoning, etc., which cannot be detected under the most rigid testing standards known. Yet they can be equally incapacitating.

Heart attacks amount to only about 25 per cent of the total incapacitations and in most cases would not have been forecast.

There has been no factual evidence presented for the need of a regulation requiring pilots to retire at 60. Instead, assumptions have been made which arbitrarily ground a pilot at 60.

Most medical people will agree, I am sure, that chronological age and functional age most often are not identical. Some individuals at 60 are as alert, proficient and physically able as others twenty years their junior.

ALPA's position is that we want a man to leave the cockpit whenever he becomes unable to meet either physical or proficiency standards, regardless of age. But to use the "meat ax" approach, as the FAA administrator does, arbitrarily deprives capable pilots of basic property rights

without any guarantee of improved air safety.

There is always a problem of possible incapacitation in flight regardless of the age of the pilots on board. The public is being misled into thinking that this regulation will prevent incapacitation and thus provide for increased safety in flight.

Only by providing a complete, fully trained "fail safe" crew in which any member can assume the duties of the others can this problem be resolved and the public interest fully protected. With this provided, public protection and safety in flight are guaranteed whenever one crew member may become incapacitated.

One federal agency has arbitrarily deprived a group of employees in private industry of their right to continue in their profession for the first

time in United States history. Social security benefits do not even begin until 65 for the retired airline pilot. Is this justice?

This is an industrial relations problem and not one of air safety. By the action of the FAA administrator certain contractual rights established by negotiation under the Railway Labor Act between the pilots and the airline companies have been completely voided. It is contrary to the American system to vest this much arbitrary power in any one individual without a system of checks and balances.

For these reasons the Air Line Pilots Association will pursue its program to set this regulation aside. This will require taking the dispute to the Circuit Court of Appeals and to Congress for action.

We feel that there is no more reason to deprive airline pilots of their right to continue flying if proficiency and physical standards are met than there would be to prevent surgeons, railroad engineers, maritime captains, lawyers, Congressmen or any other group from engaging in their professions, if capable.

Label Clothes for Postmen

THE letter carrier is a sturdy chap who lugs his sack of mail in snow or rain, heat or cold. He needs sturdy clothes—and has found them in apparel bearing the union label.

William C. Doherty, president of the AFL-CIO's National Association of Letter Carriers, says:

"Every union member worth his salt should personally demand the handiwork and services made possible by the skills and crafts of fellow union members."

Writing in *The Postal Record*, the organization's monthly magazine, Mr. Doherty warns against non-union manufacturers of uniforms. Many newcomers have come into this field, he notes, since the government authorized uniform allowances for letter carriers and other postal workers in 1955.

"A great many of these newcomers are non-union," Mr. Doherty says. "The result in too many instances has been shoddy merchandise and shady merchandising practices. Buyers are getting ersatz material in lieu of officially approved goods."

While noting that the National Association of Letter Carriers has no proprietary interest in any concern in the uniform industry, the union's president declares:

"We certainly prefer and recommend a union house over a non-union competitor. We would urge your patronage of a manufacturer or retailer who displays a union label, shop card or service button."

Jerome J. Keating, vice-president of the Letter Carriers, stresses the importance of a neat appearance for the members of his union. The way to achieve a neat appearance, he suggests, is through the wearing of union-made uniforms, caps and shoes, since products that carry union labels are always of superior quality.

"It is indeed a truism," says Mr. Keating, "that the man who will chisel on the pay of employees will also chisel on the materials and standards used in manufacture. The union label is a guarantee that the manufacturer lives up to his responsibilities, pays his employees well and uses good materials."

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Unity among workers employed by the Blocksom Company at Michigan City, Ind., and Etowah, Tenn., has brought important gains for Locals 655 and 656 of the Upholsterers International Union. The locals first became acquainted with each other in 1958 when the company tried to install sweatshop procedures.

►A wage increase and other improvements have been won by Lodge 1420 of the Machinists in a new agreement with Savage Arms Corporation, Chicopee Falls, Mass. The employer will bear the entire cost of the health and welfare plan. Previously this cost had been shared by the company and employees.

►Local 216 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Torrington, Conn., celebrated its sixtieth anniversary with a banquet. Gold pins were presented to the local's fifty-year members and silver pins were given to those with twenty-five years of membership.

►The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen is now one of eighteen railroad unions which own *Labor*, weekly newspaper published in Washington and circulated nationally. The union will continue to publish its own official weekly newspaper.

►Local 138 of the Switchmen's Union has concluded an improved agreement with the Texas Transportation Company, San Antonio. The employer is an independent switching and terminal company.

►W. E. Skinner of Pueblo, Colo., has completed thirty-three years as legislative representative of Lodge 646, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. He has been a member of the union since 1919.

►Four lodges of the Boilermakers and Blacksmiths, composed of the union's Philadelphia Navy Yard members, have merged into a single lodge. Frank Kane was elected president of the new unit, Lodge 19.



Talking over current labor problems at meeting of AFL-CIO Conference of Secretary-Treasurers are Toney Gallo (left) of Cement Workers and William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of AFL-CIO. Mr. Gallo is conference chairman.

►Salvatore Ninfo, a vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union from 1915 to 1956, died in a Yonkers, N. Y., hospital. He was a leading figure in the New York waistmakers' and cloakmakers' strikes half a century ago. He was 76.

►Harold J. Taylor, former president of the Akron Newspaper Guild, was

honored recently at the union's twenty-fifth anniversary celebration. He was secretary for two terms, treasurer for twelve terms and an executive board member for ten terms.

►Employees of the Caribe Brush Factory, Inc., Hato Rey, Puerto Rico, have chosen the United Rubber Workers as their bargaining agent.

New \$3,500,000 headquarters of Communications Workers in nation's capital. The union occupies four floors, with remainder leased as offices and stores.



Our Older People

(Continued from Page 11)

ance companies providing annuities for retirement purposes and, up to a specified maximum amount and under other safeguards, by individuals saving for retirement.

The redemption value of these bonds would include face value plus accumulated interest, plus an adjustment to compensate for any increase in the consumers' price index during the period since they were issued.

When purchased by the trustees of pension funds or administrators of annuity programs, such bonds would be available only to finance pensions or annuities which would also contain the same constant purchasing power protection. When purchased by individuals, the guarantee of constant purchasing power would apply only to bonds held by the purchaser until he attained a given age, perhaps 60.

Such bonds would help us to settle a very thorny problem which now troubles labor-management relations—the question of how to put into our pension plans automatic protection for the buying power of the pensions they provide. Corporations which employ UAW members have always resisted the incorporation of any automatic cost-of-living adjustments into pension plans because, they have argued, such a provision would subject them to unpredictable and possibly heavy costs.

We in the UAW have for some time recognized that older people need special protection against the ravages of inflation, because they are most vulnerable to it. Our 1957 and 1959 conventions adopted resolutions calling for the issuance of constant purchasing power bonds for this purpose. We strongly urge such action.

A MORE liberal distribution program for surplus foods would be a practical, inexpensive and immediate way in which to share our abundance with older persons. Under present policies and procedures many states and localities have no surplus foods distribution system even though they all have their share of needy aged who would benefit from the program. Many other states and localities have such restrictive eligibility requirements that only a small portion of those who would benefit from

the surplus program are involved.

We have numerous examples of retired persons who are denied surplus foods because they have so-called liquid assets that exceed by a few dollars the amounts laid down in policy. Many of these people have exceedingly low incomes. The liquid assets they hold would probably not finance one week of serious illness, yet they are denied surplus foods which cost as much or more to store than would be involved in their distribution.

Adequate health care ranks high—we happen to believe first—among the unmet needs of our aged population. Public awareness of the need is reaching a point where continued neglect of the problem is becoming increasingly unthinkable. The debate now brewing, however, revolves almost exclusively about the method for meeting the need.

While we may hear a great deal about the alleged fact that any American who needs medical care can get it, regardless of ability to pay, this contention is largely irrelevant, for public assistance or any other types of free medical care are generally repugnant to most self-respecting Americans, whatever their ages.

WHEN a choice, which cannot be long delayed, is made, it will surely be between an effort to bring most of the aged under the protection of voluntary health insurance and legislative action such as contemplated in H.R. 4700 to provide insurance for certain health needs for OASI beneficiaries through our social security system.

Ideological issues raised by opponents of the legislative approach are specious. The question is simply this: Which approach offers the more meaningful solution? To us, the superiority of the legislative approach is beyond question.

While the economic research department of the American Medical Association chooses to quibble over the validity of the often referred to statistic that 60 per cent of America's aged have annual incomes of \$1000 or less, it is nonetheless clear that for most Americans old age is a time of diminished economic resources and increased health needs.

While there are conflicting, even

competing, estimates of the number of retired persons now covered by insurance, it is surely debatable whether those covered represent much more than 40 per cent of the population aged 65 and over. Only a federal legislative solution offers any immediate prospect of something approaching universal coverage.

There is no justification in asking the current aged to wait another three, five or ten years while the voluntary system makes up its mind to get them covered.

The quality of the health insurance protection available to persons of retirement age is, at best, uneven. At its worst it may come close to being worthless. We have no assurance that continued reliance on the voluntary approach will bring forth any significant improvements in this regard. We do know, however, that a federal system can provide a basic standard of protection which can be supplemented by a rich variety of private arrangements providing protection above the minimum.

Given the limited resources of the aged, the voluntary approach fails to provide them with any real relief from the burden of paying for coverage or can do so only at the expense of benefit adequacy. We need to spread the cost as broadly as possible over the working lifetime of people and over the working population of America. This can best be accomplished through social security.

It is for these reasons that our organization, as part of the organized labor movement in the United States, has made the passage of H.R. 4700 or similar legislation a major legislative goal for 1960.

Certainly we feel that any serious proposals that would broaden H.R. 4700 to include protection, for example, for the cost of drugs used outside the hospital, home care services and medical care in the hospital would merit earnest consideration.

What is alarming is that medical costs and the costs of hospital and medical insurance continue to rise farther and farther beyond the reach of the majority of senior citizens. This is ultimately a burden borne by the entire population which can be met more economically and effectively through social insurance than through the catch-as-catch-can measures now being proposed by the doctors and the insurance companies.

Such legislation would materially

HAVE YOU Registered?

improve the income maintenance situation for retired workers and would remove a burden from the voluntary health insurance program which has done so much to force costs upward.

TODAY one out of every four patients in our mental hospitals is 65 and over—more than three times their proportion in the general population.

Studies show clearly that the average state mental hospital is ill-equipped, from the point of view of staff and facilities, to deal in a positive manner with the mental health needs of elderly patients. Furthermore, there is a growing and rather well-founded suspicion that many older persons now in mental hospitals do not belong there at all.

Because of the lack of other appropriate facilities to care for him, the so-called "senile" patient tends to live out his life in an environment that only further contributes to his disorientation and decline. Many of these older people who end up in the morass of a mental institution could be better cared for at home, in nursing or boarding homes, in homes for the aged, in geriatric clinics or in community-centered mental hygiene and rehabilitation centers.

Most states and communities already have many of the resources to deal with this type of problem. What they lack is the technical leadership and know-how that an aggressive national program of research, demonstration and technical assistance in the field of mental health for the elderly could provide. As a nation and in individual states, we must reverse this trend toward making the mental hospital the dumping ground for our unresolved problems with older people who need better facilities of other types.

Another corollary of low incomes and consequent low living standards among the older population is the effect which this has on their housing. Although a considerable proportion, perhaps two out of three, of the retired persons in America own their own homes, these are usually older dwellings which become increasingly

rundown as income for maintenance and repairs declines and physical capacity for "do it yourself" projects also diminishes. Furthermore, the older homes in older neighborhoods occupied by older persons are typically larger homes which are hardest to heat, to keep clean, to repair and to maintain.

In general, studies of housing needs and preferences of older persons show that they want less space, a minimum of stairs and a maximum of safety features to minimize falls due to poor lighting, narrow, high-pitched stairways and raised door sills. What older people need is smaller quarters on one floor, easy to maintain and keep clean, well-lighted and incorporating simple safety features. Yet those over 65 are at a particular disadvantage in either renting or buying the kind of housing they need.

IN A real sense, the housing needs of older persons are a part of the much larger problem of the housing needs of all low and moderate income groups in our population. What is needed is a comprehensive national housing program with special provisions to meet the special problems of older people, for the most part living on reduced incomes. This means that we must provide funds for more public housing for the elderly and must also provide financial incentives and leadership to states and localities in planning and building such projects. At the same time we must avoid housing concepts and programs which result in the segregation of older people in isolated apartment houses or retirement villages.

Institutional housing for the elderly is also woefully inadequate in both capacity and quality. Standards for nursing homes and homes for the aged in most states are largely paper standards.

Furthermore, little attention is given to the need for good medical care and rehabilitation measures that would restore older patients to a

sense of dignity, self-respect and self-care. One little recognized advantage of the Forand bill, H.R. 4700, is that it would provide a sounder base for financing most nursing home care which could result in better facilities and higher standards of care and practice.

IF THE needs I have mentioned were more adequately met—liberalized and more flexible social security benefits, medical and hospital insurance, mental health services and low-cost, specially designed housing—we would have taken long strides forward in achieving the basic objective of meeting the basic needs of retired workers for food, shelter and clothing which would permit them to function in accordance with their accustomed living standards.

In addition, we must recognize that the fact of a particular chronological age of retirement does not alter their basic needs as people for the whole range of community services in the related fields of education, recreation and social welfare.

It is obvious that retirement, to be an attractive alternative to work at the appropriate time in life, must not result in so drastic a reduction in income as to cause anxiety and hardship. However, there are other uncertainties concerning retirement which must be resolved if older workers are going to accept it and enjoy it. These have to do with the availability of opportunities for a constructive role in retirement—opportunities for social contact, education, recreation and other health and welfare services.

The real issues we face in providing for an aging population in an abundant America resolve themselves down to a willingness to recognize and accept our responsibilities and to a determination to plan and coordinate our efforts by establishing sound social policies and by providing effective machinery for carrying out these policies.

For the News PLUS

ON ABC RADIO

MORGAN and VANDERCOOK

Need for Salk Shots Continues

By MORRIS A. BRAND, M.D.

Medical Director,
Sidney Hillman Health Center, New York

UNFORTUNATELY, many individuals are awakened to health dangers only when tragedy strikes. Last year an old menace—polio—had a sudden upsurge. The basic reasons, from the data on hand, were:

1. Individuals not completing the recommended series of three Salk vaccine shots.

2. People under 40 ignoring appeals to be inoculated with the Salk vaccine.

A few years ago the world was treated to a wondrous announcement. Dread polio was on the verge of being conquered through a vaccine developed by Dr. Jonas Salk. This brought a feeling of great relief, for there was not one American family that had not seen the ravages of this disease, either in the immediate family or among relatives, friends or neighbors.

Physicians were deluged with calls from their patients. It seemed that

everybody—or nearly everybody—wanted shots for his children and himself. Polio incidence dropped sharply.

Many public officials, organized labor and other community-minded groups strongly recommended that the federal government buy all the Salk vaccine and inoculate every child free.

"No American child," AFL-CIO President George Meany said at the time, "should go without the Salk vaccine because his parents have a low income or live in a place with few doctors."

Unfortunately, the government did not perform this vital service.

Now the Surgeon General of the United States warns that "if communities continue to delay in pushing major drives to reach the unvaccinated, most of whom are concentrated in the lower socio-economic (low-income) groups, tragic outbreaks may be expected."

Many communities have set up sta-

tions where low-income families can get their shots free or at cost. Unfortunately, too many people do not know about this service. I strongly urge that they contact their local Health Departments for the details.

In the overall picture, there must be a strong educational campaign for polio injections. Every family must learn that to be protected the individual should undergo a series of at least three inoculations.

If three injections have been received, the question of the fourth or booster shot should be discussed with local health authorities or the family physician.

While there is experimentation with oral tablets, the public should not wait until they are perfected. Waiting would jeopardize your family. Instead, proceed with the Salk vaccine injections.

Salk vaccine is one of the great discoveries in medical science, but it is absolutely useless unless the people themselves take advantage of it.

The Quiet Russians

(Continued from Page 14)

from our observations at the plant level, we got the impression that this new kind of Russian "Point Four" is making an enormous impact. The tensions with Communist China over the border incursions do not seem to affect the attitude of the Indians toward Russia. They look at the U.S.S.R. with rose-colored glasses.

Soviet Communism's "top-down" discipline and inculcation of total obedience to the leader principle make it easier, paradoxically, to send such silent missionaries to underdeveloped countries to work on heavy industrial programs. Democracy's representatives by their very nature, on the other hand, are individuals who do not conform to any rigid pattern or ironclad rules of behavior set up by a foreign office.

The brilliant editor of *Thought*, Ram Singh, whom we saw again in New Delhi in September, has described the very special advantages which Russia has in such "peaceful competition."

"Russia," Ram Singh writes, "has the singular advantage of its permanent public relations office in the agency of the Communist Party of India. Do what America will, there will always be some people in this country, or in any democratic country for that matter, who would make it their business to decry America and lionize Russia."

His suggestion to the democratic friends of India is simple:

"Let the words be few but action abundant to demonstrate the undoubted excellence of their technique and humanity. * * *

We came away from Bhilai and its sprawling township, Bhilainagar, with a strong feeling that our country needs not only to reevaluate some of its aid projects abroad, but that it must pay extremely close attention to the nature of its personnel and their relationships with the peoples of other societies.

As my friend Ram Singh said:

"More than a change in the pattern of aid, what is indicated is a change in outlook, approach and perspective."

Give to the March of Dimes

WHAT THEY SAY

George Meany, president, AFL-CIO
—Heart diseases are a major cause of



death and disability. Members of our labor unions, like every other member of our society, are affected and must do their part to help eliminate this scourge. All too frequently our members have suffered heart attacks and been faced with a threat to their job security and future employment. The problem of such a worker has been of great concern to the American Heart Association, and significant advances have been made to insure that such a person is not barred from his right to work.

This, however, is only one aspect of the Heart Association's broad program of research, education and community service aimed at saving both lives and jobs.

It is only proper that we in the AFL-CIO should recognize our stake in the fight against heart disease. As a national sponsor of the 1960 Heart Fund appeal, I commend to you this worthy cause for your support. I am confident the men and women of the AFL-CIO will meet this challenge.

Pat McNamara, Senator from Michigan—The No. 1 problem of the aged



in this country is provision for their health and hospital care. Its solution should have top legislative consideration by the next Congress. Right now our older citizens require about two and one-half times as much hospital care as do younger Americans. A much higher proportion of their income is spent on medical care than is the case for younger people. These expenses hit them when their income is drastically reduced.

The most reliable predictions are that by 1965 there will still be 8,000,000 older people without any

private health insurance coverage. From 2,000,000 to 2,500,000 of these will be so badly off they will be getting old-age assistance. Even now there are at least 9,000,000 older Americans without any health insurance coverage.

There is absolutely no question in my mind that Congress must face up to this national challenge, regardless of the opposition that we can expect.

Hubert H. Humphrey, Senator from Minnesota—Our own true needs



and purposes are to fulfill the real traditions and promise of America. As we do this, we grow stronger everywhere. As we fail to do this, we grow weaker everywhere. When we say, as a nation, that we cannot afford to do better, that it would be inflationary to spend more for education, we are not talking sound economics. We are talking nonsense and downright immorality.

We should set higher priorities on education. It is the right thing to do. Education is an indispensable means of enriching life, for raising the levels of human capabilities and for deepening understanding.

The task over the next five years, if realistically faced, is to recruit about 60,000 teachers a year to meet accumulated and accumulating needs, plus about 70,000 new teachers each year to replace those leaving the public school system. It has been found impossible to recruit qualified teachers at this rate at prevailing levels of pay.

If we want the number and quality of teachers we need, we must be prepared to pay them.

We are told that there are so many other essentials in the federal budget that there is room only for a token payment toward our educational needs. This is far from the truth. We have the resources—if we will but use them.

There is no true economy in neglecting the greatest priorities of our

national needs, among which education ranks very high. We should know by now that we cannot protect the federal budget by neglecting the needs of the nation.

G. E. Leighty, chairman, Railway Labor Executives Association—All of



American labor owes a debt of gratitude to the members of the United Steelworkers for their firm stand in defense of safe, sanitary and humane working conditions in the face of the industry's demand that existing agreements be wiped out and these matters left exclusively to management. The preservation of "work rules" in the steel industry is, of course, a matter of particular interest to railroad workers, who are now confronted with a similar campaign of unprecedented intensity by railroad management which seeks to wipe out rules that are designed to protect the safety of both railroad employes and the traveling public against the steadily increasing hazards of railroading.

The costly strike which steel management forced upon its employes over this issue should be an indication to railroad management that neither American workers nor the American public in general will ever permit a return to the jungle days of railroad operations.

The settlement of the steel dispute conclusively proves that management's contention that protective "work rules" are equivalent to "featherbedding" is completely unfounded. Moreover, the victory of labor in the steel industry shows that management cannot win its current ill-advised efforts to set back the clock of industrial relations through a return to arbitrary management rule in place of mutually agreed upon "rules" governing conditions of employment.

Railroad workers, like their brothers in the steel industry, intend to do all in their power to insure to the American people that our industry will not be the one which opens the breach for an assault by reactionary managements upon the democratic processes of collective bargaining and the protective labor standards which have come to symbolize a large part of the American way of life.

Be Sure to See

AMERICANS AT WORK

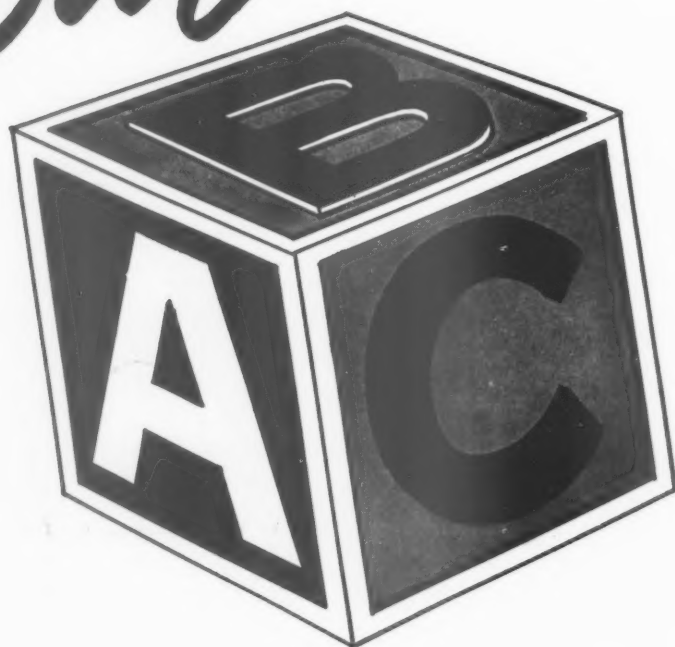
LABOR'S OWN TELEVISION SHOW



HAVE YOU been watching "Americans at Work"? This TV program is tremendously interesting. You see how trade unionists perform their jobs in various industries. It's a great program—absorbing and educational—and very well worth your time and close attention. See

it yourself. Urge your friends and neighbors to tune in regularly. And let your TV station know that you're keenly interested in "Americans at Work." Your viewing support and comments to the station will help to assure the success of this AFL-CIO venture into television.

Your



of **SAFETY** *is...*

**ALWAYS
BE
CAREFUL**